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The Shape of Things

THE NEW YEAR HAS OPENED OMINOUSLY FOR the Axis. In the west the American and British airmen are methodically pursuing the task of reducing German war potential with a view, to quote General H. H. Arnold, of making "the coming invasion of Germany as economical as possible." Berlin has suffered two more smashing blows; the port of Stettin, supply base for the eastern front, has been devastated, and the great chemical center of Ludwigshafen is reported knocked out as the result of an American daylight precision attack. At the same time huge fleets of light and medium bombers have been hitting at the "invasion coast," seeking to destroy enemy installations and to tempt the Luftwaffe's fighters to combat. But all this air activity is chiefly significant as foreshadowing future defeat: in Russia defeat is already in sight. General Nikolai Vatutin's First Ukrainian Army has enlarged the bulge west of Kiev into a huge fist which is breaking the German line in two. One of his columns has captured the city of Sarny, thereby cutting the railroad which connects the German central army with that in the north; another is driving toward Zhmerinka, a junction on the main line between Odessa and Warsaw. The Nazi forces remaining in the Dnieper bend, already dangerously threatened by these moves, are now menaced from a new direction by the Red Army's capture of the key point of Kirovograd. There seems no alternative left to the German command except to accelerate its retreat. So far it appears to have been able to keep its forces together, but now the question arises whether it has not held on too long in the south. Reports of big hauls of prisoners by the Red Army offer hope that the word "rout" may soon be substituted for retreat.

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PERHAPS THE SORDID HISTORY OF THE Allies' relations with the Fighting French has made us unduly suspicious. We hope so, because if the new, and still tiny, cloud of smoke over North Africa originates in fire, as we cynics have learned to believe smoke frequently does, the flame is ominous to a degree. The smoke in this case consists of reports that the British, supposedly with American sanction, have expressed concern over the fate of certain prominent fascists who have been arrested as traitors by the French authorities, par-

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ticularly Peyrouton, Flandin, and Boisson. Some stories have it that the British "demanded" the release of the prisoners, some that their release was merely urged. Harold Callender, reporting to the New York *Times* from Algiers, writes that "Washington and London suggested going easy" on the gentlemen in question, and still another version is that the British only asked permission to make sure that these veteran collaborators with the enemy were being well treated. But why should the British and Americans display any interest at all in these individuals, much less ask their release? Sentiment can hardly be the explanation. Nor can it be pressure from the Giraud faction within the Liberation Committee, now that Giraud himself has shrunk to such minor proportions in the French picture. Is this a hint to the men of Vichy that it is not too late to turn coats once more? That if they come over to our side at the moment of the invasion they will be spared the price of their crimes and perhaps—purely out of expediency of course—even left in positions of power? Until Pétain's recent and roundabout feeler concerning the restoration of constitutional democracy, it was the policy of the OWI to tell Frenchmen regularly that they were to put no stock in rumors of future Allied dealings with the Marshal. This assurance, we understand, is no longer being broadcast. So much for the smoke; you can do your own speculating about the fire.

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ACQUISITION OF THE JAPANESE-MANDATED islands by the United States after the war is a matter on which all of the Big Four powers are agreed, according to the authoritative *Army and Navy Journal*. It is even suggested that China would have no objection to the establishment of an American base on Formosa, although it would not be disposed to make a similar grant to Great Britain or the Soviet Union. It is impossible to check the accuracy of this story or find out whether a definite agreement has been reached. But there can be no doubt that many influential Americans, including some army and navy leaders, assume that such an expansion of American interests in the Pacific will take place despite the explicit statement in the Cairo declaration that we have no thought of territorial acquisition. The disposal of the mandated islands presents a real problem. Obviously, they cannot be allowed to remain in Japanese hands. While some of the islands might be capable of self-rule, none is capable of self-defense. But the United States has no ethnological or historical claim to the islands. Possession of them would be essential to American defense only if no system of collective security were established. Several other countries, notably Australia and New Zealand, have a stronger and more legitimate interest in the islands than we have. The only way that all these interests can be served is by placing the islands under some sort of international custody—with rights to their use as bases and responsibility for their protection shared equally among the Pacific powers.

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THE REPORT ON LEND-LEASE ASSISTANCE during the first thirty-three months of the program shows that after a disappointing start the United States has faithfully carried out its obligations as the "arsenal of democracy." Aid extended during the first eleven months of 1943 was valued at $10,365,000,000, or considerably more than that of the previous twenty-three months. Shipments to Russia scarcely started until early in 1942, but were moving at a rate of nearly $300,000,000 a month by the third quarter of 1943. The figures show that Great Britain and Russia together have received more than half of our lend-lease assistance and that the bulk of the aid to these countries was in the form of munitions. Although more food was exported than in 1942, the amount remained small in relation to domestic consumption. Lend-lease shipments of butter amounted to less than one-seventh of an ounce per week, for example, for each American civilian. Once again the report makes no attempt to balance our lend-lease expenditures against the value of reverse lend-lease—the assistance given to the United States by other countries. We are told only that such aid is substantial and is growing. Some of it is tangible, like the butter supplied our troops in the Southwest Pacific by Australia and New Zealand, but who can place a value on the contribution that the Russian army, the British navy, and the R. A. F. are making to the defeat of our common enemy? The most we can claim is that our planes, tanks, and food have helped make their achievements possible.

✶

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS GUNNING for big game. Encouraged, perhaps, by Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other apostles of "free enterprise" who have been preaching against cartels in general, Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge has set his sights at a very particular international cartel and probably the biggest of the lot. The complaint he has filed accuses du Pont, Imperial Chemical Industries, and the Remington Arms Company of uniting to divide world markets and asks the court to enjoin the defendants perpetually from forming or adhering to agreements of the alleged monopolistic and restrictive nature described. The billion-dollar du Pont concern we are all familiar with, and Remington Arms, the largest American producer of sporting arms and ammunition, is merely one of its bigger satellites. Imperial Chemical Industries is to Britain what du Pont is to the United States, only more so. Its total resources may not be quite so impressive,

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but its degree of monopoly in nearly every type of chemical production is greater since it has had no anti-trust laws to hinder its growth. Moreover, it is strongly intrenched in every part of the empire. After filing the suit Mr. Berge called it "a warning to American and foreign monopolists" and declared: "The arrangements between these groups . . . are nothing but private treaties —as far-reaching as any governmental action but free from Congressional sanction. Their production quotas and divisions of markets are private tariffs enforced without legislative consideration. However well-meaning these private groups may be, they have assumed sovereign and governmental powers—contrary to the American system of free enterprise." Now, Mr. Johnston, now, gentlemen of the free-enterprise claque, how about a big hand for the Department of Justice?

*

WOTAN HAS LET THE GERMANS DOWN pretty badly and he will have to go. The Nazis are efficient and businesslike, and if a god doesn't stand up well under actual battle conditions they replace him with another model. But that is only one of the explanations for the "back-to-church" movement decreed for all Germans by that saintly man Heinrich Himmler. It seems ironic, with half the country in flames, to drag happy pagans away from their ready-made bonfires; and even more ironic to make Arthur Rosenberg chief missionary. There must be more pressing reasons. In his first Epistle to the Storm Troops the man who pledged the complete elimination of the church, both Catholic and Evangelical, from the life of Germany, shed little light. Cogitating on the meaning of death, as well he might, he merely reminded his flock that the coming of Christ was "the birth of a new era establishing contact between our earthly life and eternity." The Hamburger *Fremdenblatt,* explaining that "religion has again become modern," suggests, more revealingly, that Germans may fall back on the church to find solace and bolster their morale. And Himmler himself offers still another advantage in this mass rush to the altar. "Through your attendance," he says, "the faithful will believe that National Socialism can cooperate with the church and religion." Undoubtedly the Nazi chieftains hope that the Vatican will also believe it and use its good offices for promoting a negotiated peace. Our own explanation of the phenomenon is that the Gestapo has just got wind of the fact that the meek shall inherit the earth. After all, isn't that the objective?

*

IDA M. TARBELL WAS THE LAST OF A SMALL but notable group of journalists who were dubbed with the unpleasant but honorable name of "muckrakers." Her death last week at the age of eighty-six leaves a gap among American writers that will never be filled. For Miss Tarbell was a pioneer in every sense of the word. She was one of the first graduates of a coeducational college; she was one of the first women to achieve notable success in the field of journalism; her articles revealing the cruel and inhuman practices by which the Standard Oil Company gained its dominance in the oil field not only ushered in a new period of journalism but a new era in public policy as well. Her biography of Lincoln is still a standard work—forty-two years after its publication. Although some of her most recent works, particularly her life of Gary, lacked the boldness and penetration of her earlier ones, few writers have left a more definite or more constructive imprint on the social thinking of their generation.

Border Impasse

ONCE again the Polish-border question is disturbing the unity of the United Nations, and no accommodation between the positions of the Soviet government and the Polish government in exile appears in sight. Both parties are exhibiting an intransigence which bodes ill for the future peace of Europe. An official Polish newspaper in London has hailed the great victory which has driven the Germans back beyond the pre-war Polish border as a harbinger of "the most serious political and moral crisis of the war," and has asked: Are the Russians coming as liberators or invaders? The government in exile itself has issued orders to its underground which seem to suggest an attempt to observe neutrality as between the Soviet and Nazi armies.

For Moscow the border question is settled. Anyone even hinting that it is, or ought to be, still open for discussion is likely to find himself blasted in the manner which has so taken Wendell Willkie aback. His article in the New York *Times,* "Don't Stir Distrust of Russia," was clearly designed to combat anti-Soviet feeling, which remains regrettably prevalent in this country, and it was welcomed as such by the *Daily Worker.* But that did not save the Republican chief from being accused of trickery and political gambling. We do not know whether the Soviet government really believes that this is the way to make friends and influence people in this country. If it does, it is being badly served by its Washington embassy.

The Russian position with regard to eastern Poland rests on three main arguments: (1) The inhabitants of the disputed territories are racially identical with those of the White Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics. (2) The inclusion of these lands in Poland was accomplished by *force majeure,* when the Western powers, ganging up on the struggling Soviet Union, compelled it to sign the Treaty of Riga in 1920. (3) The return of these lost provinces to Russia in 1939 was the result of a democratic decision of their peoples.

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The first and second of these propositions are indubitably true; the third is less impressive. The election of "assemblies"—it was not a formal plebiscite—was held a few weeks after the Red Army marched in under conditions hardly propitious for a free vote. Few details reached this country, but a totalitarian model of balloting appears to have been followed, with the electors having the privilege of indorsing a single slate. This does not mean, however, that a really democratic vote would not confirm the result, if by a less overwhelming majority. Long oppressed by absentee Polish landlords, the White Russian and Ukrainian peasants in this area might well be expected to welcome the opportunity to rejoin their brothers under the hammer and sickle.

Controverting the Russian arguments, the Poles can claim that, whatever the circumstances under which the Treaty of Riga was signed, the Soviet government never suggested frontier revision between 1920 and 1939. On the contrary, it signed two non-aggression pacts with Poland during the thirties, thus tacitly acquiescing in the territorial status quo. Only when Poland was reeling from the Nazi blitz were Russia's claims resurrected, enforced by invasion, and tamped down by a partition agreement with Hitler. No government in exile that was not wholly under the Russian thumb could be expected to accept this *fait accompli*. If such a surrender of territory is to take place without leaving a permanent legacy of bitterness, it must come as the result of negotiations between the Soviets and a freely elected Polish government.

That means that a real bilateral settlement of this problem can only be achieved, no matter what ukases Moscow may issue, after the defeat of Germany. We do not see, therefore, what Russia would have to lose by announcing that while it holds firmly to its claim that lands inhabited by White Russians and Ukrainians must remain within the Soviet Union, it is prepared to discuss the actual boundary in a generous spirit. The line which it now insists the Poles must accept was a line negotiated with von Ribbentrop. It places within Russia some cities like Lwow which are mainly inhabited by Poles and are historic centers of Polish culture. Would it not be possible to agree upon a new boundary which, while satisfying Russian ethnic claims, would not divorce such cities from Poland?

If Russia really believes in the spirit of the Declaration of Moscow, it can hardly afford to set the precedent of unilateral decisions in settling territorial problems created by the war. But still less can the Poles afford to pursue their furious anti-Soviet vendetta. Nobody is going to fight Russia to enforce dubious Polish demands for a return to the pre-war status quo. Any attempt to drive a wedge between Russia and its Western allies on this issue would be more than criminal; it would be suicidal, for Poland would be the first casualty.

Justice Denied

WE SUPPOSE this is a hopeless suggestion. But we wish that Congress by legislation or the Supreme Court by voluntary action would provide for publication of the votes taken in chambers on applications for certiorari. According to testimony given some years ago by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, certiorari is granted when four, or sometimes even three, justices vote for it. The denial of a review is a serious matter, and the public has a right to know how the justices have voted on it. We think a little publicity might have a healthy effect in some cases; justices are only human. We should like to know, for example, how the court voted last week when it turned down the appeal of the convicted Trotskyites in the so-called Minneapolis case. This rejection of a hearing, by a liberal court, seems to us a shocking thing. For in denying these eighteen defendants a hearing, the court permits precedents to stand which seriously endanger civil liberties in the United States. The rejection of the appeal for a hearing is made the more disturbing because the Department of Justice itself did not oppose the grant of certiorari.

The record of this prosecution is one to shame every decent American. The Minneapolis local of the Teamsters' Union is one of the few unions in this country dominated by Trotskyites. The Brotherhood of Teamsters seems to have had little objection to their revolutionary theories until the local, in the summer of 1940, voted to leave the A. F. of L. and affiliate with the C. I. O. At this point Dan Tobin of the Teamsters appealed to the White House for action against this "nest of radicals," and the late Marvin H. McIntyre passed Tobin's complaint on to the Department of Justice, with a notation that the President was disturbed by it. The department began to collect Marxist and Trotskyite pamphlets, and a case was worked up under both the Seditious Conspiracy statute and the Smith Sedition Act of 1940. The defendants were acquitted under the former but convicted under the latter, our first peace-time seditious-opinion statute since 1798.

The highest state courts, notably those of Oklahoma and New Jersey, have held in recent years that persons can be punished for revolutionary opinions only if it is proved that there is a "clear and present danger" of their being put into effect. This is the famous Holmes-Brandeis doctrine. The state courts were doubtless influenced by the belief that a liberal United States Supreme Court, containing so many justices who purport to revere the Holmes-Brandeis tradition, would reverse lower-court decisions which held otherwise. But in this case the Department of Justice argued and the lower federal courts ruled that men can be convicted of sedition in peace time without a showing of "clear and present

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danger." A review by the Supreme Court was called for, not merely in the interest of justice—a question that begins to seem too abstract for some members of this present court—but in order to decide exactly what rule the lower courts and the state courts are to follow in the future. By refusing to grant a review the court implies that it is satisfied with the rule applied and the result reached in the lower courts. This may be expected to have a serious effect in future cases.

We hold no brief for the Trotskyites and have differed deeply with them on most concrete issues. But we think them unjustly and unfairly condemned, the victims of a cheap bit of labor politics. It is a crime to send them to jail because they believe in the principles of the Communist Manifesto. But a greater crime is the injury done the Bill of Rights by their prosecution and by the dangerous precedents established, from which the court has averted its face.

Labor on the Spot

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

NOT many years ago I talked to a friend who had been a member of President Wilson's War Cabinet. He had signed contracts with industry involving the expenditure of hundreds of millions. He had been responsible, directly and indirectly, for wage agreements with organized labor. During the last war labor was accused, as it is accused today, of profiting from the national emergency. "I always took the position," said my friend, "that labor had a right to its share of the swag." He knew, he said, that such a remark sounded immoral. But what was really immoral was the fact that there *was* swag. He hadn't been able to prevent it. War profits were pouring into the pockets of business men and farmers; why not war wages into the pockets of workers? The place to crack down first, if cracking was possible, was at the other end—the price-and-profit end. Only then could you ask labor to forgo higher wages.

In this war, as in the last, prices and profits and wages have been handled as separate and largely unrelated problems, and the same scramble for advantage is under way. Again, as was the case last time, labor is singled out for special attack, while the other chief interested groups remain relatively immune from criticism. A recent example of this discrimination was General Marshall's much-debated statement on the railroad strike. I do not believe the Chief of Staff is anti-labor. I have no doubt that his single concern is the solid support of the war by every section of the public; as Raymond Swing said a few nights later, "he was pleading, in effect, that the home front join the war. . . ." The strike threat, followed by the government's seizure of the roads, was such a dramatic declaration of inner discord that General Marshall seized upon it and made it the text of his sermon. But it was a bad tactical mistake, for it served an opposite purpose by increasing labor's sense of grievance and intensifying the public's antagonism toward labor. And it failed altogether to get at the basic elements in the conflict now raging between private interest and national need.

During the very week when the Chief of Staff gave his off-the-record opinion of labor's behavior, another major economic battle was being fought. The issues of that struggle are described in an article on a later page of this issue, Profiteers on the Rampage, by Karl Keyerleber. Can anyone who has followed the fight over renegotiation of contracts believe that the Timken-Detroit Axle Company and other corporations now lobbying to retain their swollen war profits constitute a lesser threat to the war effort than the railway workers? And how about the farm bloc's new legislative assault against the Administration's effort to hold food prices down?

Undoubtedly General Marshall would agree that farm and business groups should be forced, along with labor, to subordinate their interests to those of the nation. But he might assert that at least they have been able to get what they want without making much noise about it. A strike is a highly visible and challenging event. It makes good copy. And the press and radio, both inevitably dominated by a business point of view, are not inclined to play down the aggressive activities of organized labor. The result is that every strike or strike rumor becomes a major event and is communicated to Hitler's agents as fast as it is to the American public. How different the handling of the high-pressure tactics of business and the farmers! The appearance before a Congressional committee of a well-known industrialist pleading for guaranteed profits is reported, if at all, briefly and with respect. The more important arrangements, made behind closed doors, are not reported at all. What General Marshall would doubtless advocate for labor is the strategy employed by business; if the workers have grievances, let them seek redress inconspicuously.

At this point I would urge General Marshall to read another article in this issue—Why War Workers Strike, by Victor H. Johnson. From this round-by-round story of the effort of one local union to get a ruling on its grievances without resort to strike, he would learn what even the most patriotic workers are facing under our war-time setup. The government machinery to deal with complaints is slow, cumbersome, and, as Mr. Johnson points out, "working a single shift." A premium is put on striking by the very system designed to prevent it. Secretary of Labor Perkins reported at the year's end that labor's no-strike pledge had been kept "better than 99 per cent." This is the marvel—not the fact that some workers have struck.

As Congress settles down to work, it should consider

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these facts. Labor cannot be asked to accept the major responsibility for "holding the line" in the face of successful raids by other organized interests. And labor cannot even be expected to operate through negotiation and the processes of peaceful bargaining unless it knows where it stands. What is needed is a consistent federal labor policy, developed as part of an overall system of economic controls, and efficient, well-staffed machinery for settling disputes when they start, not after they have exploded into open warfare.

Marshall and the Second Front

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 6

I WAS not present at General Marshall's "off-the-record" press conference. None of the liberal publications represented here received an invitation, not *PM* or the Chicago *Sun* or the New York *Post* or the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* or *Star-Times* or the Philadelphia *Record*. (The three Patterson-McCormick papers were also excluded.) But I have talked to men who were there, and I have carefully gone over all the accounts of what happened. I should like to begin from an angle the daily press has generally ignored: the light the published accounts throw on the General's attitude toward the second front and the European war generally.

We were told that Teheran decided the question of the second front. The joint communiqué issued at Teheran said, "As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions, and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west, and south." This seemed clear enough, though somewhat less precise than the glosses upon it.

A different attitude is indicated by accounts of the Marshall conference. The accounts agree that he said he had hoped for an internal collapse in Germany some time around February of this year, that he now felt strong German resistance would continue through the summer and that this would require large-scale invasion operations on our part, with heavy loss of life. This does not sound as though General Marshall considered that any very definite agreement had been reached at Teheran on the second front. The Teheran agreement was announced on December 1. He spoke on December 31.

The attitude of mind which seems to be indicated by reports of the Marshall conference was described by George Fielding Eliot in his column on January 3. This column carried no reference to the Marshall conference and seems to have been written before it occurred. Major Eliot has proved one of the ablest of our military commentators. He complained of an "unhealthy glow of optimism" and of "wishful thinkers" who still thought Germany could be bombed into submission. He wrote, "So many bombs would be dropped upon them [the Germans], we have been assured, that the invading armies would merely have to occupy territory and mop up a few scattered snipers." The OWI in a report released on January 4 similarly warned against over-optimism and the hope of a quick German collapse. General Marshall seems to have shared these illusions until the abortive steel strike and the threatened railroad strike changed his mind. One would have thought those illusions had been abandoned at Teheran.

General Marshall seems to have believed that a collapse or a change of policy was imminent in the satellite countries—Croatia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania—and that this would shorten the war by six months. I don't pretend to know anything about military matters, but this calculation seems dubious to me. I should think all four of these countries together would weigh very little in the scales. However restive they may be, all of them seem securely under German military control, and it is hard to believe that their peoples or armed forces could throw off that control. I should think we would have to fight for these territories and that there was no easy way to obtain them short of a decisive Nazi defeat. With all due diffidence, this again seems to me the nourishing of over-optimistic illusions.

Writers in the daily press have amply demonstrated by now that Axis propaganda has paid very little attention to the strike situation. Dorothy Thompson has pointed out that both the Hitler regime and its truncated Italian partner are playing up to Socialist sentiment, of however distorted a variety. The Axis radio may consider it poor business to let Hitler's harassed, overstrained, and underfed workers—particularly those in the satellite countries—know that in America labor is still free to strike, even in war time. Two attempts have been made to explain away the testimony of American and British radio -monitoring services. One is that the news of the strike has just been whispered by the Gestapo into the proper ears. The other is more curious.

Correspondents and columnists who can be trusted to echo official views can go over to the War Department and hold hands with certain colonels who provide "off-the-record" background. I think Mark Sullivan's explanatory column of January 5 was the result of such a

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conversation. Sullivan reviewed the whole background of the Marshall conference. He said that the army "has at all times accurate, up-to-the-minute knowledge of the morale of the Axis peoples" and that from this information "the army believed recently that there might be a crack-up of the German people, or more likely of the satellite peoples, some time fairly soon, perhaps during February." Sullivan said that at this point along came the taking over of the railroads and the "threatened" steel strike and that these changed the army's opinion. Sullivan went on to make an interesting admission. "The army," he explained, "did not need to wait to get reports of the changes through its intelligence services. The army knew that the strikes in America would be exploited by the German propaganda machine. . . . In view of this development in Germany, our army changed its view about the likelihood of an early crack-up within the Axis." It would seem from this that the army was guessing, and from the records of the Axis radio that it guessed wrong.

I have the highest respect for the men running the War Department, for men like Judge Patterson and Assistant Secretary of War McCloy. But I have talked with some of these colonels who funnel out army intelligence "off the record," and I am not impressed either with them or with their information. The combination of General Marshall's conference and the kind of stuff ladled out to Mark Sullivan doesn't change my opinion. It seems to me that both the quality of the information and the manner of its presentation indicate poor judgment. I would agree with Ernest Lindley—certainly a much less radical observer than myself—that Marshall's statement was itself of great propaganda value to the enemy, perhaps much more so than the threatened strikes, which I do not defend.

General Marshall has yet to be tested by events. We know that either he himself or someone in his immediate entourage was responsible for the famous "off-the-record" press conference predicting a Russian defeat within thirty days or so of the German attack, and we know that the General Staff long blocked lend-lease shipments to Russia in the imminent expectation of such a collapse. We know that General Marshall might have used this same "off-the-record" device to disassociate himself from the "beat-Japan-first" bloc when they used his name in Congress and over the air last spring to throw a monkey wrench into the President's conferences with Churchill. We now have another glimpse of him in action. I do not object to his appeal to labor. On the contrary I think a well-considered appeal, couched in persuasive terms, might have done a great deal of good. But this angry and exaggerated attack, made on vague grounds and under cover of an unmanly anonymity, bore the earmarks of an attempt to stir popular support for further anti-labor legislation or to make labor the scapegoat if coming invasions should prove costly or unsuccessful. I hope the impression I have gained of General Marshall is proved unfounded by coming events.

Profiteers on the Rampage

BY KARL KEYERLEBER

FOR every business man who assails the renegotiation of war contracts it would be possible to find ten or a dozen who regard it as a valuable part of government procurement of arms. Yet the few have played their cards so well that one of the most powerful single factors in reducing the cost of the war is in serious danger of being scrapped.

A block of legislators who include Chairman George of the Senate Finance Committee is determined to repeal the renegotiation statute. Changes incorporated in the revenue bill now before the Senate will gain very nearly the same end without repeal. If they become law they will make price adjustments in war contracts unworkable.

While renegotiation is to the average fellow a polysyllable of uncertain meaning, to a small and fractious minority it has become a fighting word—the industrial Old Guard's equivalent of "Remember Pearl Harbor." Two suits to test the law's constitutionality are now in the courts. Trying to whip up a disturbance that will pass for widespread public indignation, manufacturers have importuned employees and fellow-members of chambers of commerce to write to their representatives in Washington. They assert that renegotiation takes away so much of their profits that it is destroying their business, and then they go on to say that most of this money would be captured by taxation anyway. They call the statute undemocratic, arbitrary, and vicious, although the practice of adjusting prices after manufacturing costs are determined has good peace-time precedents.

That renegotiation takes money from business there can be no doubt. It has already saved the American people about two billion dollars on the cost of the war, a direct saving that would not have been effected by taxation or any other means—indirect savings probably run into more billions. But the fundamental issue is not one of economy. The issue in the renegotiation controversy is whether a fortunately placed few shall profit

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excessively from the war effort. Pledges that they shall not have been put on the record by President Roosevelt, both major parties, and almost every national organization, including manufacturers' associations.

Once our rearmament program got under way, it became obvious that these pledges must be implemented. Even before Pearl Harbor profits were soaring. When contracts had to be "shoveled out" early in 1942, it became clear that the ordinary processes of procurement could not insure fair pricing and that the tax laws were not flexible enough to prevent exorbitant profits. Mass production of items never before mass-produced created situations in which neither government officials nor contractors could tell what the costs would be. Recognizing the danger of widespread profiteering to industry itself, some companies reduced their prices voluntarily before the renegotiation law was passed by Congress in April, 1942. They renegotiated their own contracts.

Price adjustment is not a revenue measure. It is not necessarily punitive; it does not stigmatize the contractor. It is part of the process by which government agencies have met the most prodigious procurement task in all history, and its primary purpose is to accomplish fair pricing in an emergency which keeps the ordinary controls of competition from operating. Most business men regard it as sound war-time policy and credit the adjustment boards with working conscientiously at a difficult job. This is not to say they like renegotiation; nobody likes to have his profits put through a wringer. But they feel that the losses and occasional inequities are preferable to the risk of post-war reaction of the kind to which Secretary Morgenthau alluded when he said the changes incorporated in the revenue bill by the Senate Finance Committee contained "the seeds of national scandal." Senator Walsh, a member of the committee, found it necessary to add that "when the record of profit-making on war contracts is disclosed, the American people will be shocked."

Though most industrialists who look beyond today's unprecedented opportunity for profit favor renegotiation, crippling amendments to the law have been pushed through the House and on to the Senate floor. The most significant are these: exemption of standard commercial articles; exemption of subcontractors whose goods do not enter into the final product—this was made retroactive; provision for post-war reconversion funds; permission for appeal to the courts, also retroactive.

VOLUME AND PROFITS

The argument that there is little likelihood of excessive profits, and therefore no need for renegotiation, in the manufacture of standard commercial articles is fairly plausible. "I sold this same article for $150 before the war, and that is what I am charging the army," says a manufacturer. "Why apply renegotiation to goods that you can go uptown to a store and buy?" asks another. Yet it is precisely on standard goods that some of the biggest war profits have been made. Any business man, or for that matter anyone who recalls the effect of volume production on the price of automobiles, knows that a price which is fair when a plant is turning out 500 units a year is not fair when volume jumps to 10,000. It is a business maxim that larger volume and narrower profit margins go hand in hand.

The Sperry Corporation, one of the largest war contractors, making its regular peace-time product, reported early in 1942 that profits on government business were "larger than had been anticipated or desired" and subsequently slashed its prices. Timken-Detroit Axle makes standard articles for war. Testifying before the Senate Finance Committee last month, Under Secretary of War Patterson revealed that this company made $39,839,000 in 1942, against a peace-time annual average of $2,116,000. After returning $12,500,000 as a result of renegotiation and paying war taxes, the company still had left $5,070,000, about half as much as it made in the whole pre-war decade. But unlike Sperry, the company complained about renegotiation, and when a new contract was broached asked an even higher price for its axles. Joseph M. Dodge, chairman of the War Department price-adjustment board, told the Senate Finance Committee of a company, "not by any means the most unusual," which jumped its volume of business from a 1936-39 average of $16,500,000 to $50,000,000 in 1942 and its average dollar profit before income taxes from 7.4 per cent on sales to 25 per cent. He told of ten lumber companies whose profits in the same base period, 1936-39, were $5,000,000 and in 1942 reached $25,900,000, the ratio of profit to sales rising from 11.8 to 26.1 per cent. Profits of twenty-five woolen-textile companies averaged $3,200,000 for the base period. In 1942 that profit just took on another cipher and became $32,000,000.

Should these standard-product contractors be exempted from price adjustments? And where would the exemption line be drawn in the aircraft industry, which has become the biggest in world history by expanding from an annual output of $200,000,000 in 1939 to $20,000,000,000 in 1942? (An illustration of the fantastic profits in this industry is found in the salary increase of an executive of the Cessna Aircraft Company, as reported to the Securities and Exchange Commission. In 1940 this executive earned $2,325; in 1942, $89,851.) The definition of standard products would be good for endless legal arguments. Even battleships and tanks use many standard products.

Exemption of subcontractors whose goods do not enter into the final product would open the way for large profits in the lower tier of contractors, where they cannot be reached by procurement officers. And overpricing here, though creating higher costs for contractors at the top,

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would also raise their profits, since it would increase their dollar volume. This amendment would free from renegotiation such companies as the toolmakers. According to Mr. Dodge, nineteen companies in this field increased their sales volume from $29,400,000 in the base period to $172,000,000 in 1942, and in the process their net profit jumped from $5,000,000 before taxes to $62,000,000 before taxes and renegotiation. The retroactive provision would open the way for recovery by industry of large sums already refunded, such as the $5,500,000 paid back by Warner and Swasey of Cleveland. This company made $20,222,000 in 1942, against a peace-time average of $1,900,000, and even after renegotiation and taxes made a profit of 50 per cent on its pre-war capital investment. The Lincoln Electric Company of Cleveland, which has refused to pay a renegotiation refund of $3,250,000 determined by the navy board, would also escape through this loophole. Incidentally, James F. Lincoln, head of this company, whose suit to test the constitutionality of renegotiation is scheduled for trial in federal District Court next month, first suggested the amendment exempting subcontractors.

PRUDENT PROVIDERS

A strong case can be made for the claim that manufacturers should be allowed to salt away large sums to finance the return to peace-time production. But renegotiation will not prevent their doing so. In the first place, the big profit-makers have a lot of money left after renegotiation and taxes, in most cases more than they ever made in peace years. The evidence is spread on the record of Congressional committee hearings. In the second place, the tax laws make considerable provision for reconversion, including a post-war refund of 10 per cent of excess-profits taxes paid. Treasury estimates indicate that by the end of this year as much as $26,000,000,000 may be available for post-war refunds. And in the third place, when some of these war contractors begin talking of reconversion funds they appear to want provision not only for known needs but for every contingency that could possibly arise, not excepting earthquakes.

If the profits under consideration were normal profits made out of civilian business it would be easy to go along with these prudent providers. But the money has come from the public till and must be paid out of taxes. If we admit that corporations should set aside for their own use millions made out of the war effort, we are saying that Smith, whose automobile agency was closed by the war, and Jones, whose business failed because of war shortages, should be taxed to insure that Brown suffers no loss while his war plant retools for velocipedes. And we are saying that in order to underwrite a job for War Worker Williams, Private Doakes should be taxed when he returns from his slit trench.

To argue that employment for Williams also will benefit Doakes is to miss the point here, which is not that there should be no reconversion funds but that they should be handled in another way. If they are to be charged to the war they should be distributed on the basis of need, not on the basis of who made the most money. For the manufacturer who made the most is likely to need the least help.

The provision for court review as now written not only would permit appeals on all future renegotiation proceedings but would reopen cases already decided. Two questions arise here: Will not court fights over renegotiation be so long drawn out as to make the entire statute ineffective? Are courts to decide fact as well as law, and if so, how is justice to be determined?

By the end of this month the War Department expects to complete renegotiation of 17,800 cases involving 1942 contracts. About 7,600 others have been or are being handled by Navy, Maritime Commission, and Treasury boards. An impossible burden would be thrown on the courts if a large proportion of the contractors involved in these cases decided to appeal. Litigation might drag on for years.

As for the second question: the courts can decide equity, but there is no legal precedent for renegotiation in determination of equity. Unless Congress passes a whole set of rules clearly defining costs, on what basis are the courts to decide cases? If a sufficiently flexible formula could be invoked, it could be set up to guide the price-adjustment boards. None has yet been found that will do the job. What makes renegotiation work is the fact that the boards can get at a company whose expenditures or profits are bloated and cut them down before the damage is irreparable—before excessive profits are put beyond reach and excessive costs reflected in inflationary prices. From this standpoint both court review and taxation are measures that lock the barn door after the horse has been stolen.

On this we have the word of business men themselves. The Sperry Corporation has called renegotiation "the only practical means yet developed to prevent unreasonable profits on war business." S. C. Allyn, president of the National Cash Register Company, whose contracts were renegotiated last year, told me recently: "I still think that renegotiation is the best way yet found or suggested to fulfil a necessary war-time function. Good faith is the saving factor and the unwritten element in every contract which protects both manufacturer and government. Renegotiation is nothing more than a means of exercising that good faith."

The list of business men who indorse the statute could be extended indefinitely. But a fighting minority, estimated by Under Secretary Patterson as less than 2 per cent of war contractors, have established a beachhead on Capitol Hill and are likely to win the battle unless the government officials who have been stoutly resisting them are strongly reinforced by public opinion.

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The South American Conspiracy

BY MANUEL SEOANE

Santiago, Chile (by Air Mail)

THE Argentine movement has needed only six and a half months to spread to Bolivia; as with every epidemic, its germs found a propitious field in a country whose resistance was low. Bolivia was one of those "democracies" to which we have become accustomed—pro-democratic in foreign policy, dictatorial in internal policy. It was a clear target for local fascists.

Just as Napoleon after his death was still winning battles, so German Nazism advances in Latin America at the very moment it is bleeding to death in Europe. Make no mistake about it. What has happened in Bolivia has been a triumph for Hitler and a defeat for the puerile policy of "non-intervention" of the United States State Department,

I predicted the Bolivian coup d'état when I analyzed the rise of General Ramirez for the readers of *The Nation.** I declared that under the dual slogan of combating Yankee imperialism and communism the Ramirez regime would devote itself to the creation of an anti-democratic coalition in Latin America. Bolivia has been the second act in a drama which will be prolonged through more than the conventional three.

To understand the real significance of the change of government in Bolivia one must look back over the last two years. The Bolivian state was headed by a soldier without a grain of political sense. During the Chaco war, Enrique Peñaranda Castillo rose from a simple private to be one of the highest officers in the Bolivian army. On April 15, 1940, he became the constitutional President of Bolivia. For two years he respected the constitution. Then the social inequity under which Bolivia was living led to demonstrations which he felt obliged to suppress. In December, 1942, several hundred workers were massacred in Catavi by the forces of the government. A great clamor of protest rose from all Hispanic America. But General Peñaranda had learned in the Chaco the use of the smoke screen, and in March, 1943, he embraced the Four Freedoms for the benefit of foreign public opinion and declared war on the Axis. Two months later he was invited to the United States. Dressed in academic robes, this soldier of the Chaco, this military dictator, was given an honorary degree by Columbia University.

Once a Doctor of Laws, General Peñaranda returned to this country with the conviction that he was one of the leading artisans of victory. He grew more aggressive. Now softly, now blatantly, he demanded a port for Bolivia. It was his best card in countering internal opposition. President Vargas of Brazil, actuated by his hostility to Argentina, promised Peñaranda an outlet through Santos, several thousand miles distant from Bolivia, and with no connecting railroad. This was surely very generous of the Brazilian dictator, but he rendered his Bolivian colleague no great service. Peñaranda's campaign for a port was rapidly discredited, and he returned from his tour of the United States with little more to offer his people than his academic triumphs.

Although no concrete news about it has leaked out, a secret clique of officers, patterned after the one operating in Argentina, is almost certainly at work in Bolivia. We do know about the recent activity of the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, which was responsible for the overthrow. This movement is composed of former veterans of the Paraguayan war and of extreme nationalists who are as violently anti-United States as they are anti-Communist—in other words, exactly the same type of men as those who rule Argentina. It is well known in Santiago that Ramirez agents have visited Bolivia and that one of the most prominent leaders of the Bolivian movement, Colonel Taborga, was in Argentina for three months conferring daily with the colonels who engineered the Argentine coup.

Certain leftist elements, hating the Peñaranda government for its submission to the big mine-owners, were ready to support a revolt. Now they deny that Nazi groups had anything to do with the successful coup. Their protestations are unconvincing. The German Minister to Bolivia, the notorious Herr Wendler, Himmler's brother-in-law, who was thrown out of Bolivia because of his conspiratorial activities, was behind the movement. Its organ is his newspaper, *La Calle,* whose editor is Armando Arce. *La Calle* is printed on German paper, stocked in La Paz. It is served by the well-known Nazi news agency, Trans-Ocean, and has always been suspected of secret dealings with the Japanese.

The ideological leader of the movement, Victor Paz Estenssoro, combines youth with brilliance and determination. A very capable lawyer and a member of Parliament, he is known as one of the most effective speakers in Bolivia. In an effort to secure the cooperation of all Bolivians, Peñaranda offered him the Ministry of Finance in 1940. Paz Estenssoro accepted but soon broke with Peñaranda and now, speaking over Radio America, a

* Argentina's New Rulers. July 10, 1943.

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station which had been closed for its pro-Nazi activities, attacks him as the evil spirit of Bolivia.

If Paz Estenssoro is the most showy personality in the movement, Walter Montenegro, also a young man, is considered its one-man brain trust. He has spent a great deal of time in Argentina, and is known for his passionate anti-imperialism. He is extremely subtle and so elastic in policy that he is able to obtain support from both sides.

Other important figures are Aliguato Céspedes, who lived in Chile for many years and is the author of two rather impressive books—"Sangre de Mestizos" ("Mixed Blood") and "Metal del Diablo," a violent satire on Patiño, the great Bolivian mine-owner; Hernán Siles Suazo, thirty-year-old lawyer, son of former President Siles, a man of honesty and energy and with a solid reputation, who will soon be prominent in the Bolivian press; and José Pinto, a cavalry colonel, who did not hide his sympathy for the Argentine colonels when he visited Chile recently.

It was unfortunate that the Argentine revolt was not taken as seriously as it deserved. It will be equally deplorable if the gravity of the Bolivian situation is minimized, or if public opinion is misled by the support of men who undoubtedly belong to the left and who have clean records. Certain indisputable facts must be kept in mind.

First, the coup d'état will have great inter-American repercussions. Peñaranda, a friend of Brazil, has been overthrown by partisans of Argentina. And the second step in the creation of a Grand Fascist Alliance in South America has been successfully carried out. Second, this success is undeniable evidence of the failure of United States policy toward Latin America, evidence which no diplomatic cleverness will be able to cover up. It proves the futility of trying to maintain cordial relations with dictatorships which have no internal support and which may be destroyed overnight, despite benedictions spoken in Washington. It proves that only genuine democratic regimes can win popular support and that an appeal to the people is the only way to counter the extraordinarily powerful fascist offensive now under way in Latin America. Third, it is a sign that we must be prepared for all kinds of incidents and conflicts in the Western Hemisphere. Of course, the new Bolivian government will continue the state of war with the Axis. It will not retreat an inch from the line laid down by Peñaranda. But behind it and within it are the elements which are trying to Nazify South America and all those fervent nationalists who are ready to precipitate conflict with Chile around the old issue of a port for Bolivia.

And now the third act of the conspiracy is in preparation. The agents of Argentine fascism are active here in Chile, but it is in Peru that they have the most immediate chances of success.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

ITALY HAS HAD PEACE throughout the year just closed, but peace without tranquillity. . . . Brigands still infest the mountains. The finances of the country are at a low ebb. The King has lost his popularity. His foreign policy is undefined. The Parliament is rent with factious strifes. The people are restless. Garibaldi in his island is preparing for new adventurous attempts. Mazzini—from his sick-bed at Lugano, in Switzerland—preaches a new crusade against the Pope and his supporters. Final pacification is impossible as long as Rome remains severed from the kingdom.—*January 7, 1869.*

THE NEWS FROM SPAIN IS BETTER than it was last week. The insurrections which broke out in Seville, Cadiz, and Malaga have been suppressed with little trouble and little bloodshed, the republicans showing nearly as great readiness in surrendering as in rising. The cause of these disturbances is . . . the long delay in taking the national decision on the form of government and the belief of the republicans, whether well or ill founded, that the Provisional Government is using the delay to intrigue in favor of a monarchy.—*January 7, 1869.*

THERE IS, WE ARE ASSURED, no doubt that the Civil Service bill will be opposed by the leading men of both parties, and that there is little chance of its passing this session without strong pressure from public opinion. Practically the power of appointment to subordinate positions in the public service is now in the hands of Congressmen, and they use it for their own private benefit and that of their friends; and he must be a very sanguine person who expects them to give it up without a struggle.—*January 14, 1869.*

ON THURSDAY A BILL WAS INTRODUCED in the Senate to give Mrs. Lincoln a pension, on the ground that her husband being killed while in the discharge of his duty (and because he discharged it so well) as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, his widow deserves a pension as much as the widow of any soldier or sailor.—*January 21, 1869.*

SCIENCE VERSUS PREJUDICE. Tobacco and Alcohol. I. It Does Pay to Smoke. II. The Coming Man Will Drink Wine. By John Fiske, M.A., LL.B., 16mo, cloth $1.—(ADVT.) *January 21, 1869.*

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL, Cambridge, Mass. Two terms beginning February 22 and September 13, 1869. The resident Professors are Theophilus Parsons, LL.D., Emory Washburn, LL.D., and Nathaniel Holmes, A.M. Gentlemen of distinction in the profession lecture from time to time on special topics. Application may be made for circulars or further information to either of the resident Professors.—(ADVT.) *January 28, 1869.*

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Why War Workers Strike

The Case History of a Shipyard "Wildcat"

BY VICTOR H. JOHNSON

WE SET off on our junket to Washington with considerable hope. We were happy to have avoided for at least a week the shutdown of two of the biggest and fastest naval shipyards in the country. Labor's "no-strike" pledge had been kept; through pleading and the faith of the men who work side by side with us we had held 43,000 rebellious shipworkers on the job. What, in turn, would Washington do for us in the way of adjusting the grievances of those men and keeping production going?

Washington was not cold or indifferent. In fact, I was surprised to find, in the same city that houses such a viciously anti-labor Congress, some understanding labor people. True, the story of trouble in the shipyards had preceded us, and the officials we reached knew we were not casual visitors.

The first telephone contact made by the two rank-and-file members of our delegation of five was with Dr. John Steelman, head of the United States Conciliation Service. Dr. Steelman is one of the most down-to-earth government men you could possibly talk to. What his influence and power are among the other government labor people, I don't know. I suspect, though, that he is too straightforward and democratic to be popular with the red-tapers.

Dr. Steelman was already familiar with our case. After a few minutes of questions about details, he undertook to help get action. The mark of his sincerity was his giving us a definite time when he would have news; the mark of his democracy was the way he talked to us. "I know, Bud," he would say. "You have to have something to take back to those guys."

Dean Wayne Morse, one of the four members of the War Labor Board representing the public, was our next man. (We knew that the four labor members would go along with us; we expected the four employer members to stall; ultimately the decision would be up to the public members.) On the West Coast Dean Morse had a good reputation as a conciliator. In Washington he is known among union people as "the Dean," and they will tell you that he is a good man on vacations and substandard brackets but a tough adherent of the Little Steel formula.

Morse looks more like the male half of a Latin dancing team than a government official. He is young, lithe, dark; lacking the age and flesh of older officials, he has assumed the dignity of judicial detachment. As he studied our reports and statistics, we were certain of one thing: this man would either do something about our case or plainly tell us he wouldn't.

"That's a pretty big speed-up you have," he said, apparently making comparison with other yards. "The accident report shows it, too. And you were close enough to a strike—there seems no doubt about that. What do you think it would take to straighten out the situation?"

"Two things," one of us answered. "The first is retroactivity—so the men will know that whatever they do get will go back to the time the old contract expired. They don't like the idea of being gypped during negotiation time. The second is vacations; vacations have already been granted in other plants, and our people are burned up because other workers are getting vacations and they're not. The argument for vacations is the company's accident report; a 72 per cent increase in accidents over the last six months shows that the men need a rest."

Morse looked relieved. "There I think I can do something for you. On anything that is not against the President's wage policy the board will do whatever it can. But any blanket wage increase for shipyards is out. Those orders are from the President. We will carry them out, that's all—until the White House decides otherwise."

On vacations and retroactivity, two concessions we believed would prevent a strike while the rest of the contract was being negotiated, the Dean moved quickly enough. First he discovered that our case was what is known as "in the files"—that is, it was buried with hundreds of other cases waiting consideration by the WLB. By telephone he consulted other board members, and we heard him advise interim orders on vacations and retroactivity, and argue that sufficient precedent had already been established in other cases. One of the other board members did not believe this and thought the company might jump the board for deciding a case without taking full evidence. Morse then asked if this legalistic fellow would join, if not in an order, in a strongly worded recommendation for vacations—strongly enough worded to be tantamount to an order.

We left the Dean's office with our case out of the files and with the conviction that he would live up to his promise to push it.

William Hammond Davis, chairman of the board, is the other extreme from Steelman and Morse. He is an

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old man—his white hair, his round, involved manner of speaking, his smug self-assurance are like those of an old-time mechanic who takes his superiority for granted and resents any innovations. Whereas with Morse we could come quickly to the point, we had to listen while Davis told us what the WLB would do if our men struck. All of this was foolish and beside the point, since we were entirely familiar with the WLB's policy of refusing to act during a strike. We had come to ask Davis's help in warding off a strike.

Where Morse had looked at the problem from a psychological viewpoint, with the obvious intention of stretching legality to fit an acute situation, Davis seemed bent on making the situation fit legality. Production speed, accident increase, the angry temper of a night shift that had already walked off the job, two big shipyards already shut down for four hours—none of these facts seemed to penetrate Davis's mind. Smug in his dictatorial economic power over millions of America's war workers, cracking his not very witty wisecracks about what he had done to John L. Lewis (interpreted by us as what he had done to 500,000 sweating, underpaid miners), and threatening sweetly to do likewise by our men, who had not struck, Mr. Davis would take up our case with the board "sometime in the near future."

Neither the president of our union, a fairly able pinner-downer, nor the rank-and-filers accompanying him could pin this old patent lawyer down to a definite time of action. We felt discouraged when we left his office, and feared that he would sabotage what Dean Morse and Dr. Steelman were trying to do. Meanwhile, the week our membership had given us to get results was sliding by.

Since Davis had given us what amounted to a polite brush-off, the next move was political pressure. Our shipyards are within the sphere of influence of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City. Mayor Hague, take him or leave him, is an important cog in the New Deal political machine. He is a figure on the Democratic National Committee, a power in the backrooms; his Hudson County turns out a solid vote for F. D. R. Our delegation returned to Jersey City, consulted some people on labor's political-action committees, then took off for Washington again.

Representative Mary Norton and Mayor Hague telegraphed Davis urging action; down to Washington by plane came Hague's nephew and personal representative, Commissioner Frank Eggers of Jersey City. He and the shipyard delegates went to Davis's office.

The hand of Hague made a difference. Our delegation was not politely dismissed this time with, "Well, gentlemen, I am glad to have seen you." Instead, Mr. Davis leaned back and talked business—the business he should have talked in the first place. The Shipbuilding Commission was being reorganized with representatives of the procurement agencies—the navy and the Maritime Commission—left out. Our case would be one of the first heard by the new commission. Retroactivity, vacations, reclassifications, and other points—we were given to understand the new commission would consider these "favorably"; the implication was that they were in the bag.

At a mass-meeting of our membership held in Jersey City we reported on our Washington trips and the promises made by Davis. Our men are not unreasonable; they are as conscious of the war and of our obligations as any other group of citizens. They were pleased that the Shipbuilding Commission was being reorganized, that their case was out of the files. The War Labor Board was not dead; we had seen some of its members in the flesh. The meeting voted, in good spirits, to accept our recommendation to await action by the WLB.

REWARD OF VIRTUE

Some of the responsibility for what subsequently happened in the two big shipyards we represented falls upon the shoulders of our delegation. We took Mr. Davis's promises, made after the intervention of Mayor Hague, at face value; we believed we had actually succeeded in getting the WLB to speed action on a case. Our president went off on a week's vacation, certain that he would have something definite to report to the membership next week. We who worked in the yard had the same hope.

But it was only wishful-thinking. After two weeks our phone calls to Washington grew more frantic. The day shift going out wanted to know when we were going to get action. The night shift coming in asked the same question. The WLB's regular answer was, "We're working on it." Sometimes when we'd call around three o'clock to try to get news for both shifts, we'd be told that Mr. Davis was out of town or "not in." The men standing around the phone would crack, "Suppose we go out of town, too?"

The union men who came into the office or who worked side by side with us, we could hold against a strike. Our problem was the unorganized, those who did not know what was being done, or what the situation was in Washington. Our union people, besides being better informed, also realized their responsibility to the "no-strike" pledge and the future of their organization. The unorganized were more for striking than the organized. Non-unionists baited us for "being afraid to strike."

A month of waiting brought an unorganized exodus from the yards. Discontented and wondering if the WLB would take six months or more as it had in other cases, many men decided not to wait for a vacation they might or might not get, or for possible petty raises under reclassifications. Ways were shut down for lack of men; superintendents complained that production was "going to hell." Around the yard appeared the slogan "No dues till we get action!"

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Two months of the WLB's "working on it" produced no results as far as the men in the yards could see. Even sober old-time trade unionists, who knew that a strike would cost us public support and perhaps bring organizational disaster, spoke bitterly of "teaching that War Labor Board crowd a lesson." Spontaneous work stoppages, slowdowns, sitdowns multiplied. Union officials had a busy time nipping departmental demonstrations in the bud and keeping resentment from crystallizing into a general walkout. We tried to prevent news of the trouble from reaching the public; and so did the company, apparently.

Finally, we got a sitdown that we couldn't keep from the public or from the WLB. The hookers-on in the steelyard and plateshop sat down and refused to budge. The company tried to break it up by sending the men home. They went home, to return the next day and sit down again. After vain pleading by local union officials, John Green, national president of the Shipyard Workers, flew to the yards from Washington. It was a sad sight, the old leader of the shipyard workers standing on a flat-car, his gray head bare, valiantly trying to uphold the C. I. O's "no-strike" pledge. He was not met with boos and catcalls—just a respectful, deadly silence. The men were still sitting when he left the yard forlornly.

That was a critical night in the shipyards. The company ordered what it euphemistically calls its "riot squad" to stand by for a strike. Feeling for a sympathy strike with the hookers-on, as well as for our own grievances, ran high. We rank-and-file leaders of the swing shift in my yard called a meeting during our twenty-minute lunch period. Nine hundred men crowded around the pipe-bench from which we spoke, and we didn't know whether we'd be mobbed or allowed to get away free. There was no word to be said in defense of the WLB. It stank—but Green had brought us certain information from Washington, information that could not be given out officially. If we could hold tight for another week, he felt sure that some of the clauses of the proposed contract would come through. Meanwhile, we had talked with spokesmen from the hookers-on; they asked us not to spread the strike. They were meeting with Green the next day and hoped to get their grievances straightened out. The War Labor Board, which we had thought dead, was not dead—it sent a telegram stating there would be no further consideration of our case until the hookers-on returned to work!

In the face of this coercion from the WLB and after taking up a collection for the hookers-on, the swing-shift crowd returned half-heartedly to work. The sitdowners next day voted to resume production; the welders put off their walkout. Our repeated plea for action was echoed by the returning hookers-on. But this time it was different. Though no open threat was made in the politely worded telegram we sent to the WLB, Washington could draw its own conclusion. Unless there was action in the capital there was going to be action in the shipyards—plenty of it.

RULING FROM WASHINGTON

The next week the Shipbuilding Commission issued a directive covering, with the exception of reclassifications, all the points at issue in our proposed contract. (On that one point the commission ruled that more time was needed to study other scales in the industry.) The union immediately put out a leaflet hailing a great labor victory. The men in the yards were led to believe they had really won. However, when we checked up on what had actually been granted, we found, in highlight, this: the union had obtained (1) a company check-off of dues under the maintenance-of-membership clause; (2) the right of shop stewards to operate on company time and property so long as they didn't interfere with production; (3) the right to use company bulletin boards for union notices.

These were all excellent gains for the union as an organization. On the demands affecting the rank and file, the following rulings were handed down;

1. One week's vacation was allowed for one year's service, *provided that the employee had been employed in the yards before July 1, 1942.* (This clause almost completely shut out the workers in one of the two yards from a vacation, inasmuch as the yard didn't open for production until after July 1, 1942.)
2. Two weeks' vacation for five years' service, *effective in 1944.* (In other words, men with five years' service were promised a vacation after July 1, 1944.)
3. Sick leave was denied.
4. Hospitalization and a liberalized insurance clause were denied.
5. Retroactivity on reclassifications was given to us at the start of a paragraph but was taken away at the bottom by a clause leaving final discretionary power with the Shipbuilding Commission. (The union leaflet published only the first part of the paragraph.)

With production up five times over that of peace time, with costs of living up but wages held down by the WLB, it would seem that the shipyard operators would have jumped at such mild terms as Washington proposed. But the operators didn't jump. They appealed from the order, hitting chiefly at vacations on the ground that they were in reality "a wage raise."

THE LID BLOWS

Again our case went back to the WLB. Again the strike fever in the yard mounted, with little stoppages, numerous slowdowns. After another month of waiting, the yard "blew." Thirteen thousand men hit the bricks over the pleas of union officials and shop stewards. We were on a big-time wildcat strike. It tore and screeched over the radio; it tangled claws on editorial pages. And it shook Mr. Davis up in Washington.

President John Green of the Shipyard Workers was

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ordered by Davis to intervene, on the tacit understanding that the WLB would act when production was resumed. Being somewhat wise in the ways of John Green and knowing his desire to protect the check-off already granted, we started the back-to-work movement even before he arrived. It was better to get the men back at work at the peak of their wildcat strength than to have the strike broken slowly by the union, Green, WLB pressure, and the draft boards. And, as we foresaw, Davis did act. The point is, he could have done it months before without being forced at the point of a strike.

From this experience and from the nature of the clauses granted and the clauses denied, to both the union and the company, and from other evidence too far afield to be covered in this article, I have drawn some definite conclusions about the War Labor Board and the general set-up of Mr. Roosevelt's war-time labor-grievance machinery:

1. War-time labor adjudication has not kept pace with the rest of the war program. War industry is generally working three shifts; government labor-grievance machinery works but one, and apparently not too conscientiously at that.

2. The WLB is a cautiously reactionary instrument under the domination of William Hammond Davis. The window-dressing of liberals like Wayne Morse amounts to that—window-dressing.

3. The policy of the War Labor Board is to give workers the minimum that will keep them from striking.

4. For selling to their memberships the meager gains made under WLB rulings, union officials are rewarded by maintenance of membership, closed shop, and automatic company check-off of union dues. If union leaders fail to sell WLB decisions to the membership, Mr. Davis threatens to withdraw the union-favoring clauses.

5. Many of the wildcat work stoppages, strikes, and slowdowns, and partial responsibility for some of the labor turnover in war industry, can be laid in the laps of Messrs. Davis, Vinson, and Byrnes. Besides erring frequently in their judgment as to how little they can give workers without bringing about a strike, their procedure is so slow that all official Washington is damned in the eyes of the workingman awaiting action. He decides, rightly, that the only way to get action is to strike.

6. Come election time it will be difficult for Mr. Roosevelt to explain away the activities of these gentlemen. Undoubtedly the closed shop, maintenance of membership, and check-offs will hold the top labor officials, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O., on the President's bandwagon. But rank-and-file workers who have been through the ordeal of the WLB, and who have been more or less coerced into acceptance of its decisions, will be on the lookout for a liberal candidate of Presidential stature who will give the whole set-up the blasting it deserves.

In the Wind

DR. MAX BRAUER, who was mayor of a large German city during the Weimar Republic and is now working for the Federated Churches of Christ, addressed at Yale last week AMG officers studying the background of Germany. He had been asked to speak as an expert on municipal government in Germany, but instead spent most of his time urging reestablishment of the German Reich as it was in January, 1933, minimizing the importance of the Jewish problem, and offering the AMG officers advice on how to act toward civilians who might wish to establish a Soviet in Germany. The officers complained to the director of the school. He admitted that Dr. Brauer, who had been okayed by the OWI and other agencies, was guilty of bad judgment.

THE *WALL STREET JOURNAL* REPORTS that "Spike" Movius, secretary to Senator Nye, had a hand in Nelson Sparke's book, "One Man—Wendell Willkie."

LABOR SHORTAGE: When J. W. Canant, publisher of the Monte Vista *Journal* of Colorado, and three of his printers became ill last week, an emergency call was sent to the war prisoners' camp at Monte Vista. The officer in charge canvassed the Nazis to find out whether any of them had had printing experience. A type-setter, a stenographer, and a press feeder were discovered. They were rushed to the *Journal* office, and the newspaper appeared on time.

AN AUCTION SALE at Christie's in London brought $200 for sixteen bottles of Scotch whiskey. Nine bottles of Irish whiskey went for $95, and five bottles of gin for $64. A bottle and a half-bottle of Chartreuse sold for $48, and $35 was paid for a half-liter of green and a half-liter of yellow Chartreuse.

THE MOST POPULAR AMERICAN BOOKS during the last five years in Uruguay: "The Microbe Hunters" by Paul de Kruif, "Gone with the Wind" by Margaret Mitchell, "The Good Earth" by Pearl Buck, "Grapes of Wrath" by John Steinbeck, "World's End" by Upton Sinclair, "Tobacco Road" by Erskine Caldwell, "The Wild Palms" by William Faulkner, "Manhattan Transfer" by John Dos Passos, "Native Son" by Richard Wright.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Five Czechoslovakians were hanged on telegraph poles in retaliation for the wrecking of a freight train. The victims were four boys, one of them fifteen years of age, and a girl of sixteen. . . . A Czechoslovak woman was executed for failing to denounce her brother and sister-in-law to German authorities. . . . The Czechoslovak government has determined that the man responsible for the razing of Lidice is Hauptsturmführer Wiesmann, chief of the Gestapo in Kladno at the time.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Germany, 1944

POLITICAL warfare this year has one supreme objective—destruction of the Third Reich. In 1944 the United Nations must deal the decisive blow to Germany, in the political as well as in the military field. To understand the processes which will carry Germany to final defeat and through the period of transition that will follow its surrender, one must be intimately acquainted with the internal situation of Germany, its economic problems, frontier issues, the prospects of labor, the strength of the political opposition, and other factors which will determine the course the country will pursue once the National Socialist regime is destroyed.

In the coming year this section intends to devote particular attention to German problems. In an early issue it will begin a series of articles dealing with the subjects mentioned above. The commentary of Argus will continue to be a valuable background to this analysis. From the start his column has been welcomed by laymen and specialists alike. We know definitely that more than one official agency in the United States considers "Behind the Enemy Line" among the most accurate and serious sources of information on Germany.

We recently have had new evidence, in two important documents, of the exactness with which Argus has been interpreting German developments. One is a book; the other, a letter from Spain written by a person who has lately visited Berlin, and who was in a position to obtain information from authoritative sources.

The book, "Behind the Steel Wall" by Arvid Fredborg, will be brought out this week by the Viking Press. It covers a period which American journalists, obliged to leave the country after Pearl Harbor, have never been able to report on. Mr. Fredborg quit Germany only in the summer of 1943. He was able to feel the German pulse, to witness the immediate reaction of the people to some of the major events which changed the course of the war—the winter campaign of 1941-42 on the eastern front, the beginning of war weariness in the spring of 1942, Rommel's failure to bring his spectacular drive in Libya to a victorious conclusion, the catastrophe of Stalingrad, the final struggle in Africa, the intensified air raids of 1943, the deterioration of the German submarine war, and the decline of German prestige even among pseudo-neutral states and satellites.

That the author is not distinguished either for imagination or political shrewdness is manifest in the last pages of the book, when he writes of the structure of post-war Europe. Probably under the spell of the comfortable Scandinavian monarchies, Mr. Fredborg finds nothing better to suggest for the Europe of 1945 than a universal return to monarchy. He becomes childish when he tries to read the future, but when he talks of the present he reveals a remarkable power of observation which recognizes the smallest detail as an integral part of the whole. His very lack of imagination gives the book the imprint of veracity. Mr. Fredborg is not a man of great vision, but as a chronicler of fact he is unexcelled.

Among the first impressions one gets from the book is that none of the evils and difficulties awaiting the German people as they move toward defeat will be anything new. Except for the final collapse itself, the Germans have already gone through the most trying experiences possible. In the coming months those experiences may, of course, be repeated in such aggravated form that they can no longer be endured. But in evaluating them, one should keep in mind Mr. Fredborg's observation. "Often," he says, "I had occasion to reflect on the fantastic tenacity that the Germans displayed; their endurance seemed only short of the miraculous.

The encouraging stories we have read, from Ankara and Stockholm and Berne, of growing unrest in Germany must be scrutinized with a sense of proportion. To begin with, neither the degeneration of morale, nor the internal feuds among Nazi leaders, nor the difficulties in obtaining food, nor the decreasing faith in Hitler, nor the hate of the people for the party, nor the acts of sabotage are unprecedented. All through 1942 and 1943 Mr. Fredborg was a witness to these developments, and he reports them with his customary scrupulousness but without ever deluding himself that they are sufficient to bring Germany to its knees.

As early as the summer of 1942, Mr. Fredborg states, "morale was declining in many ways." A wave of rumors suddenly swept over Berlin. Characteristically, they referred primarily to the most hated and feared person in the country—the chief of the German police. Some rumors said that he was dead; others that he had been injured in a plane crash on his way to Norway; others that the General Staff had forced him to retire after he had drawn a revolver and shot a general in the presence of Hitler. As in most rumors there was in these a kernel of truth. Just about the time they were circulating, Berlin bookstores received a secret letter from the Propaganda Ministry instructing them to remove pictures of Heinrich Himmler from display. But very soon after

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he had apparently fallen from favor, Himmler's influence was restored. Instead of diminishing, his power steadily increased until he became the most important minister of the Reich. Even Air Marshal Göring, after persisting for several months in his determination not to give up a single unit of the Luftwaffe, finally yielded to Himmler enough planes to build up an air corps for the S. S.

Every fresh lapse of confidence resulted in new powers for the Gestapo. Mr. Fredborg gives interesting details about its present strength, which he estimates to be at least 500,000 men equipped with every modern weapon. He tells how the Gestapo has been trained in the art of street warfare; how it has developed a system of internal espionage that exceeds the most dramatic underground reports; how it stimulates the slightest symptoms of articulate opposition into real rebellion, using the methods once followed by the Czar's secret police, thereby making possible the arrest of everyone suspected not only of illegal activities but of "illegal thinking."

Just as Himmler has emerged victorious from his various disputes with more moderate elements, so does every other conflict with the conservative forces of the country result in their defeat. Dissatisfaction with judges who still exhibited a pedantic respect for tradition was settled by the appointment of Dr. Thierack as Minister of Justice, with the party fanatic, Rothenberger, as his assistant minister. (A cable on January 3, 1944, stated that the latter had been dismissed from his post; the reason was not given, but possibly he went too far in disciplining the tribunals.) Judges are treated as puppets. No deference is paid to impartial justice. Even as old a party member as Governor General Frank of Poland had to pay for the crime of having said in a lecture that the totalitarian system was compatible with security under law and that the National Socialist state should not degenerate into a mere police state. Within the party it was expected that Frank would be appointed to the post Thierack now occupies, but a Germany that is rapidly losing the war cannot leave the administration of justice to such a flabby disciple of National Socialism.

Also, much of what we have heard about disagreements between the Führer and his generals is true. When the man who was considered the brains of the German army, General Halder, was replaced as chief of the General Staff by an unknown officer who only a month before had been a simple colonel, a break between the party and the Reichswehr seemed imminent. All the foreign correspondents in Berlin were after the story. But nothing grave happened then or later. Since December, 1942, General Zeitzler, piling defeat on defeat, has performed his duties as Chief of Staff, with no higher qualification for his post than his ability to get along well with the supreme commander.

The Swedish journalist's account of two years in Germany describes frequent periods of extreme pessimism. He shows a people which sees its chances of victory rapidly vanishing, cities and houses destroyed by continuous air raids, working hours increased until ten hours a day is the minimum and eleven or twelve the average. It is exactly the same picture drawn in the interesting letter mentioned above, dated November 30—just five months after Fredborg left Berlin.

"Suddenly," the writer says, "Germany has become a land without joy; the men in uniform look like automatons, and only one emotion illuminates their faces—a growing sense of fear. People walk mechanically on their way to the factories and on their way home. They still eat abundantly, but they no longer enjoy their food. Much stronger than the desire to eat is the desire to get an extra hour of sleep to compensate for the sleepless nights to which the bombing raids are subjecting the population of the large cities."

"Until recently," the letter continues, "the soldiers who had permission to return from the front were systematically used to encourage the home population. Now their efficiency for any kind of psychological propaganda has diminished enormously. They don't come home enthusiastic and aggressive, but complaining of the lack of German planes and of the terrific tenacity of the Russians."

In the midst of those pathetic, pessimistic masses a growing section of the German people is seeking the way out. Mr. Fredborg is particularly cautious in speaking of the present strength and chances of the underground. What role the opposition in Germany may play in the future he does not know. He has divided the opposition into four main groups—monarchists, liberals, Socialists, and Communists. In the autumn of 1942 it was estimated that 150,000 persons had joined the underground. During 1943 their number increased. They have even obtained weapons, chiefly by bribing the men who supply military depots; these are ready to report abnormal "losses" of the arms in their charge if they are paid with coffee or with other scarce foodstuffs. "But from a purely technical point of view," Mr Fredborg states with certainty, "the opposition is still hopelessly inferior to the regime."

Under such circumstances it is difficult for a Minister of Propaganda to find successful new slogans, but there is still one that acts as a stimulant. According to Mr. Fredborg, even in the summer of 1942 "Never Again 1918" was the best propaganda slogan the National Socialists could have wished for. It is the one most frequently used today. It runs through Hitler's last New Year's proclamation, and apparently its force is recognized by Herr Goebbels, on whose audacity and energy the author of "Behind the Steel Wall" and the writer of the letter agree. "Nazi leaders," says the latter, "now

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frequently address the workers. They are listened to in silence or with forced applause. Only one man is still more or less successful in warming up the crowd. That is Dr. Goebbels. After he visits a factory, a vague optimism prevails and lasts for a few days—but not much longer."

"Never Again 1918" sounds quite firm. But can another 1918 be avoided? Is there any chance for the Third Reich to escape defeat? According to the Swedish journalist, some leading Nazis still believe there is. They like to point to the situation in 1762. Toward the end of the Seven Years' War, when Frederick the Great stood alone against two great empires, Austria and Russia, it looked as though nothing could save him. But the Empress Elizabeth of Russia died, and her successor, Peter III, offered Frederick a separate peace. "Perhaps once more," they say, "rescue may come from Russia."

But when Mr. Fredborg left Berlin, the Teheran conference had not yet taken place, nor had the Russian armies crossed the Polish border.

A. DEL V.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

KONSTANZ is a small German city of 34,000 inhabitants on the Swiss border. When a person in Konstanz dies, the family, in accordance with German custom, inserts a death notice in the local newspaper, the *Bodensee-Rundschau*. A Swiss newpaper conceived the idea of examining the back numbers of the *Bodensee-Rundschau* to see how many of the death notices since the beginning of the war were those of soldiers and officers killed in battle. It discovered that up to the middle of December 3,794 of the announcements referred to men fallen at the front.

This figure, however, included soldiers from the surrounding region as well as from the city of Konstanz and therefore could not be set against the 34,000 inhabitants—it would have represented a frightful percentage. But it could be compared with the region's losses in 1914-18. During the First World War the population of Konstanz was just about the same as now, and the *Bodensee-Rundschau* printed the death notices of 3,083 soldiers. If Konstanz can be considered typical of the country as a whole, and if these deaths are a reliable index, 20 per cent more men have fallen in this war than in the last.

The Swiss newspaper which dug up these bare facts, the Schaffhausen *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, rounded them out in its issue of December 23 with some human-interest details. Many of the recent notices, it said, were inserted by elderly people who "announced the death of their last son." In others "peasants mourned the last prop of farm and field." "Some parents have lost three sons; one eighty-year-old woman has lost seven grandsons in Russia. . . . Women have become widows a few days after their wedding; old people have committed suicide from grief; young girls have drowned themselves in Lake Constance or taken poison. There have been no fewer than seventy-six suicides in Konstanz since the Russian war started."

Information of a more general character about German losses and the present strength of the German army has been gathered by another Swiss newspaper. Germany's Winter Army Number 3 is the title of an article in the Zurich weekly the *Weltwoche* for December 3. Based on facts obtained from apparently reliable sources, it begins with the following statement:

> Nearly all German men between seventeen and fifty-three—those born between 1890 and 1920—are now in uniform. Those born in 1898 and later—forty-five years old and younger—are in combatant service at the front; those born before 1898 are serving behind the lines. The sixteen-year-old boys, born in 1927, must register for military service in January, but about one-fifth of the boys of this class have already enlisted.

The most decisive factor in the present situation, according to this account, is the continually decreasing strength of the army in spite of the regime's efforts to drain the last drop from the man-power reservoir. For about sixteen months "losses have exceeded new enlistments." The numerical strength of the German army "reached its peak when the Germans were approaching Stalingrad and Cairo; at that time 16,000,000 troops of all categories had been called to the colors." Today the total strength of the German army, according to "reliable estimates," is "somewhat less than 10,000,000. Thus in spite of the mobilization of new classes and the induction of men combed out of various kinds of civilian work, the effectives of the German army have diminished by more than one-third in the past fifteen months."

But though the number of soldiers has decreased, the number of divisions, this article declares, has remained the same. Thus "the average strength of a German division has grown steadily less for almost two years. Today a division of 16,500 men is the exception. Most divisions contain about 13,000 men, and some stationed in occupied countries are even smaller. In France, for instance, six months ago fifty-five railroad trains were required to move a division; today forty suffice." Even the thirty to thirty-five armored divisions, though they still exist, have no longer their old strength. Hardly a one has the normal quota of 360 tanks. And what is most important, while a short time ago every German armored division had behind it both a "replacement" and a "reserve" division, now in almost every case the reserve division has disappeared.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Power and the Common Man

COMMON CAUSE. By G. A. Borgese. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.50.

MY SOLE objection to this magnificent book is that "the bride is too fair." Borgese does not believe in an economy of scarcity. He will not plow under any felicity of speech—allusion, alliteration, or even the lowliest pun. His pages are masterpieces of baroque art: every nook is adorned, and every ornament beckons with dramatic urgency. Others may prefer chaster modes—Spartan, Calvinistic, or Voltairean. But I am using "baroque" as a definition, not as a stricture. We cannot forget that Shakespeare is the supreme achievement of the baroque.

A stylist, but no mere stylist, for the thought is as luxuriant as the form. "Common Cause" is a *Summa*: a truly philosophical book which embraces religion as well as history, politics, and economics. Vast as the sweep is, the details are not blurred. The discussions of Catholic policy and of Churchillian Toryism, for instance, are masterly—and deadly—in their definiteness.

It is impossible to sum up such a book without destroying its unique quality. Reduced to common terms, the Common Cause is that of the Common Man, and it has been adequately voiced by Henry Wallace. This is not "war as usual" but Armageddon; in Wilsonian phrase, the war to end war. Material victory is necessary, but not sufficient. Who is to surrender, and to what? Material blueprints for peace—Culbertson's is the most glaring example—are pathetic. Peace is of the spirit. We have not begun to fight, for we have not voiced the faith that is in us.

The cause of the common man "everywhere in the world." Anything short of that, any form of privilege, selfishness, or greed, means a shift of power, not peace. Nationalism is the arch heresy. Imperialism is but an exaggerated case: if we crave power and prestige, it must be at some other's expense. A name for the special brand of Anglo-Saxon nationalism or imperialism might be "peculiarism"—splendid isolation, limited liabilities, special reservations in the common law. The second curse is "pecuniarism"—Mammon-worship, the profit motive, now camouflaged as "free enterprise." The third and worse is racialism, the refusal to admit our common humanity. Caste in India, the *Herrenvolk* fallacy, Kipling's "lesser breeds," our immigration quotas based on the Nordic myth, are all variants of racialism, all denials of the Common Cause.

Borgese wants to serve the Common Man because he has faith in him: "He is kind, he is temperate, he is orderly." Truly a touching Rousseauistic-Jeffersonian faith. Not unrealistic, Borgese would not preclude Taine's definition of the Common Man—"a ferocious and lustful gorilla." But any common effort has to be based on the social propensities of the Common Man, not on his anarchical instincts. In other words, every organized state, local or worldwide, is of necessity a striving for Utopia; it must embody the will to make justice prevail. Any state committed, within or without, to the fostering of selfishness is divided and shall fall.

The America of the Founders is committed to the Common Cause. Jefferson, Washington, Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt are high priests of one enduring faith. This is truly America's business: to raise a standard to which the honest and the wise can repair. But—and this was true even in the days of Washington—we are also filled with the fear of the Common Man, the fear of brutal revolution. Our second line of thought—often uppermost—is that of Burke, Joseph de Maistre, Metternich, Carlyle, Taine, Ferrero. The defense of privilege takes advantage of that legitimate fear and masquerades as a pessimistic view of human nature. The beast in man must be curbed—and the beast is the mass demanding an equitable share. Hence our anti-bolshevism—we have not yet suppressed Martin Dies—and the "Rather Hitler than Blum!" attitude which led us to shady deals with Darlan and Badoglio.

We, Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, must recognize that the Common Cause is revolutionary, so long as privilege clings to power. We cannot avert revolution without betraying our cause. But we have the power to effect the revolution ourselves, as part of the great upheaval of war. If our arms carry the Jeffersonian revolution to Europe—and India and China—the Common Man may prove to be what we know him to be among us, "kind, temperate, orderly." If we try to force upon him ancient wrongs, violence will ensue.

In such a schematic form this gospel might be dismissed as naive. But the incredible subtlety and richness of the book are the decisive argument. In its steady light it is the cynics who appear crude and unrealistic. Munich and the Darlan deal were very poor strokes of business. Intelligence pays.

Of course, among servants of the Common Cause there are points of difference—usually mere questions of emphasis. Borgese's defense of the "monarchical" principle sounds paradoxical. I agree that decisions cannot be reached without leadership. The parliamentary system has collapsed everywhere, even in England; and the spectacle of our acephalous Congress in 1943 is an irrefutable demonstration. But there is in Borgese's conception of the leader a tinge of the "hero" or "providential-man" fallacy which is almost pre-fascist. Executives we need, not supermen. The responsibility for the Common Cause lies with us common men. It is for us to force Roosevelt, Wallace, or Willkie to lead us the way we want to go.

Borgese denounces all privileges. Yet he seems to have faith in the privilege of mass or might. He thinks in terms of "the Big Two," which he calls the Britannistic world—mostly American—and Soviet Russia. This is a relapse into the "realism" of power. Power, he knows, is transient. Tomorrow Japan's dream might come true: Pan-Asia united against the White Man. Who appointed the Big Two trustees for mankind? Trusteeship is another word for hegemony, the white man's burden.

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These are differences in accent—Borgese says Mazzini when I would say Lamennais or Michelet; they do not alter our essential agreement. Servants of the Common Cause, this should be your Book. ALBERT GUERARD

The Best of Military Thought

MAKERS OF MODERN STRATEGY: MILITARY THOUGHT FROM MACHIAVELLI TO HITLER. Edited by Edward Mead Earle. Princeton University Press. $3.75.

IT IS seldom that any book can lay claim to being unique, yet "Makers of Modern Strategy" has that distinction. In an extremely meaty volume of 550 pages no fewer than twenty authors, working under the leadership of Dr. Edward M. Earle of the Princeton University Institute of Advanced Studies, have summarized the best thinking and writing on war of the last three centuries. Their work makes readily available much valuable information which could hardly have been obtained in even the best American libraries.

Their method is mainly biographical. The doctrines of Machiavelli, Vauban, Frederick the Great, Jomini and Clausewitz, Foch, Lyautey, Churchill, Ludendorff, Stalin, Trotsky, Haushofer, Mahan, Douhet, Hitler, and others are studied through their lives and writings. The figures chosen for study will surprise many. Only two Americans, Mahan and General William Mitchell are among them, Napoleon's principles are examined only through his interpreters, and such able commanders as Lee, Jackson, and Marlborough are omitted, either because they left no written record of their theories or because their main contribution was in the field of tactics. On the other hand, Alexander Hamilton, Marx and Engels, Delbruck, and Lenin are included because of their contribution to the study of strategy in its non-military phases. Possibly as an offset to the predominantly biographical approach, two chapters—one by Theodore Ropp, the other by Alexander Kiralfy—discuss continental concepts of sea power and Japanese naval strategy.

As always in a volume representing many styles and points of view, the writing, though it shows uniformly high scholarship, is uneven in literary quality. A few chapters are by writers of no great talent and are frankly boring. In certain other cases it was evidently impossible to secure the most competent authority. But as a whole "Makers of Modern Strategy" reflects the highest credit on the editor, the Princeton University Press, and most of the authors.

Lack of space prevents any detailed account of a book of this type. Two of the three chapters contributed by the editor, one dealing with Hitler and the other with Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and the Soviet concept of war, are of especial interest at the present time. In the chapter on Hitler Dr. Earle presents an admirable synthesis and interpretation of known facts. The Nazi leader, he believes, is one of the ablest of all experts in political warfare but not of equal stature as a strategist. The material on the Soviets is not so well known and goes far toward explaining the reasons why the Red Army has amazed nearly everyone. In uncovering the genius of the despised and often overlooked Trotsky Dr. Earle does not in any way slight Stalin, whose able preparation for war through the various five-year plans and whose extremely harsh decisions in the present war were as certainly correct. Kiralfy, in discussing Japanese naval strategy, advances the view that the navy is regarded as an auxiliary to the army in carrying on land offensives in nearby territories. Our enemy, he believes, does not understand the meaning of command of the sea as the term is used in Great Britain and the United States. An American soldier writing under a pseudonym brilliantly describes the military sickness exemplified in the doctrines of Liddell Hart and Maginot, which paved the way for Hitler's early successes. One other chapter, written by Captain Harvey DeWeerd, is worth the closest attention. It discussed the civilian war leaders Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Churchill, and their guidance of the often over-conservative and sometimes stupid military leaders of their countries into the correct decisions. There are other excellent discussions, but these half-dozen chapters stand out.

DONALD W. MITCHELL

Poetry in Review

OF TWENTY books of poetry I have read during the past weeks two separate themselves quickly from the sorry remainder. The two worth reading are Louis Aragon's "Le Crève-Coeur" (Pantheon Books; paper, $1; cloth, $2) and George Barker's "Sacred and Secular Elegies" (New Directions, $1).

"Le Crève-Coeur" comprises some twenty poems written between October, 1939, and October, 1940. They were published in France, banned by the Germans, and smuggled into England; and they are now introduced to the American reader by the English critic Cyril Connolly. Connolly hails Aragon as "the first poet of the United Nations to make music out of the war," and he trusts that Aragon's success will act as an impetus to other poets. I find myself less concerned, however, with the attribution of the title of "war poet" to Aragon than with the conviction that poets make music out of words, and that in time of war the very grammar of life, as well as of language, seems to fall apart. How, then, could Aragon experience the chaos and the personal attrition of the war with all its ingenious forces of deprivation, and translate that experience into poetry? Aragon speaks for more than himself when he says: "Presque chaque chose à quoi nous nous heurtons dans cette guerre étrange qui est le paysage d'une poésie inconnue et terrible est nouvelle au langage et étrangère encore à la poésie."

The theme of almost all the poems is not so much the war as it is the absence of love:

> Femmes qui connaissez enfin comme nous-mêmes
> Le paradis perdu de nos bras dénoués
> Entendez-vous nos voix qui murmurent Je t'aime
> Et votre lèvre à l'air donne un baiser troué

In the second of the following stanzas from Le Printemps, note how the emotional effect is obtained by means of technical proficiency:

> Mais nous sans yeux nous sans amour nous sans cerveau
> Fantômes qui vivons séparés de nous-mêmes
> Vainement nous attendions le renouveau
> Nous n'avons inventé que d'anciens blasphèmes

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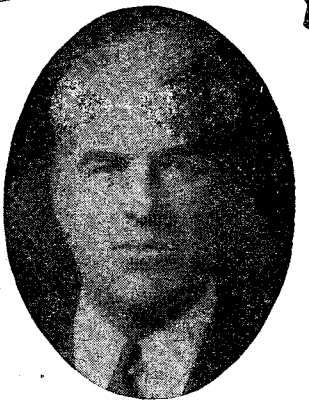
A REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Lend-Lease

WEAPON FOR VICTORY

By Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
written while Administrator of Lend-Lease



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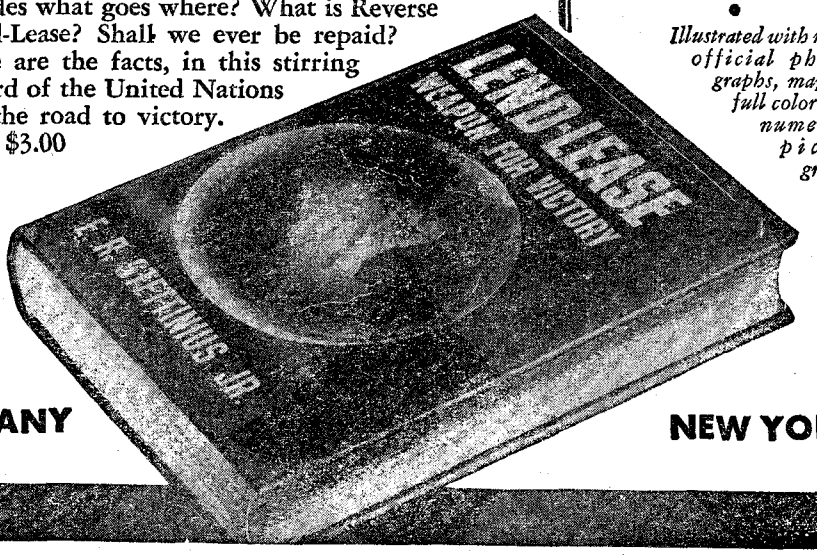

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Allons-nous retrouver la vie ô faux défunts
Car est-ce une porte qui s'ouvre enfin car est-ce
Enfin le printemps qui arrive et son parfum
Bouleverse le vent ainsi qu'une caresse

Here are the last two stanzas of perhaps his best poem, Zone Libre, written in September, 1940:

J'ai perdu je ne sais comment
Le noir secret de mon tourment
A son tour l'ombre se démembre
Je cherchais à n'en plus finir
Cette douleur sans souvenir
Quand parut l'aube de septembre

Mon amour j'étais dans tes bras
Au dehors quelqu'un murmura
Une vieille chanson de France
Mon mal enfin s'est reconnu
Et son refrain comme un pied nu
Troubla l'eau verte du silence

Discipline in poetry is twofold—the inherited tradition in which the poet writes, and the poet's technique, the means by which he uses his tradition to express his own meaning. Aragon, like other serious modern artists, is aware that he must subject his talents to the greatest possible amount of self-imposed opposition. That is, the struggle between what the poet wants to say and its expression within the literary tradition must be made difficult or the poem, the resolution of the struggle, will not be worth achieving. Moreover, it frequently happens that the opposition must be exerted in the field of the poet's greatest facility. If it lies in his sensibility—or in his imagination, or in his intellect—it is just that quality he must discipline most or fall victim to his own facility.

Aragon's extraordinary concern with the technical matters of poetry—especially his employment of new kinds of rhyme and rhyme schemes and varied and complicated stanzaic forms—goes far in accounting for his success. Rhyme is much more important to French poetry—which, generally speaking, has no fixed accent—than it is to English verse, and Aragon uses run-over rhymes, as well as end-stopped and internal rhymes, originally and with thrilling effect. Technical innovations are never exercised for their own sake; they are unobtrusive, and clarify rather than obscure his meaning. Nothing is more difficult than the communication of simple emotion in art. Indeed, the continual threat of the censors that forced Aragon at times to mask names and places served as an additional hazard assisting him to objectify, to "ground," what might otherwise have been the self-consuming tumult of his own feelings.

Rhyme and stanza provide the framework that contains and controls the emotion and causes it to emerge as an indissoluble part of the poem, because Aragon expresses himself within the whole tradition of French poetry. Without that connection his meaning would be isolated and merely personal. A good deal of his technical equipment is drawn from the reservoir of the past—from Old French and Provençal poetry, from the Renaissance poets, from popular and folk songs, and, indirectly, from the influence of post-romantic poetry on the language. His Alexandrines recall Racine as well as Baudelaire, and his octosyllabics bring both Villon and Apollinaire to mind. The point is that after years of exile Aragon has returned to his own tradition. He has recovered the lost thread of his poetry, ironically enough, at a time when he has been forced into involuntary exile from France. His poems are "heartbreaking" because he has returned to his tradition and because he is master of his medium, not because he has lived through three wars (and three betrayals), or because he is so much in love with his wife (Connolly calls it "the inestimable reward of thirteen years of live marriage"), or, finally, because for ten years he was trained in "political reality" as a Communist.

George Barker does have genius, and his new poems do show an advance over his previous work, but despite his sonorous verbal magnificence, one is again left with the impression of having been present at a pageant of sound without movement. He now manages to get more movement within the line by varying the caesura (all writers of blank verse should be compelled to read Milton); his beat is less regular; and he has more to say. Yet the total effect of the twelve elegies is monotonous. Barker tends to luxuriate in richness of sound, and the direct consequence of that surrender is lack of variety. Consider, for instance, the last stanza of the first Sacred Elegy:

Lovers for whom the world is always absent
Move in their lonely union like twin stars
Twining bright destinies around their cause:
They dazzle to dark with a meridian present
The wallflower world. Redundant it shall resent
The kiss that annihilates it and the gaze that razes.
O from their clasp a new astronomy rises
Where, morning and evening, the dominant Venus,
To let us kiss behind the mask of faces,
Dismisses all sad worlds that turn between us.

Even a cursory examination of these lines will reveal how he makes his sound travel. Alliteration, assonance, imperfect rhymes are the medium in which vowels and consonants, like notes in a musical phrase, are anticipated, carried over, and reechoed; sentences rise, curve, and fall; and we have an orchestral accompaniment that overwhelms the meaning. Note especially, "Redundant it shall resent," which most certainly does have a clear meaning in the context. (Also "the gaze that razes.") The reduplication of sound and letters to the ear and to the eye, the insistent demand on the immediate senses, smothers or nearly effaces the meaning of the words. Prodigal use of repetition for musical effect is bound to become monotonous. And Barker's fondness for blank verse, almost as a musical measure, leads him—notwithstanding the imperfect rhymes—directly into the arena of his greatest danger; so that he will yield to the temptation of mere sound, and force his conquerors to "Thrash on the hotbed of their terrible onus." "Your eye on the income and the encomium" is another example.

Barker writes beautifully within his tradition, but as yet he does not command the technical means to represent himself simply and honestly. Technical incompetence can make a liar out of any artist. No, the problems obstructing his complete development as a poet must be met the hardest way and by the strictest discipline. If Barker is the serious poet I think he is, he must stop his ears, he must wring the neck of his eloquence, he must modulate his voice. Only then will he be able to say what he wants to say of love and

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"We All Stand Before the Bar of History, Humanity and God"

These solemn words were uttered some months ago by the Archbishop of Canterbury in a speech urging action to prevent the mass extermination of the Jews of Europe by Nazi Germany.

We repeat these solemn words of the head of the Church of England, for the need for immediate action is now even greater.

The fiendish minds of Nazi Germany have set up an official "Extermination Commission" dedicated to murdering the Jews of Europe before the war ends. The number of Jews already murdered exceeds the combined total of all of the United Nations' war fatalities, excepting Russia and China. This constitutes one of the darkest pages in the annals of human history.

The conscience of our Nation has been deeply shaken by this ghastly situation. From the length and breadth of our Nation, expressions of sympathy and voices of anger are rising. But this alone cannot stay the hand of the murderers.

THERE ARE PRACTICAL MEASURES

The first prerequisite for action on such a vast, grave and urgent problem is to invest responsibility and authority in a group of men and charge them to concentrate their efforts and energies on this task.

It is with this in view that leading statesmen have introduced a resolution in Congress urging:

> **"the creation by the President of a commission of diplomatic, economic and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action, designed to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany."**

There are many practical measures for saving the Jews in Europe, measures which such a Commission will verify and effectuate.

Much can be done for the Jews in Europe WHERE THEY ARE. The very creation of this Commission . . . announced by short-wave radio to the entire world, to the tormented victims as well as to the Godless enemy and his shaky satellites . . . will have a profound influence on the destiny of the Jews in Europe.

For the many Jews who can be taken out of Europe, there are nearby accessible territories . . . Cyprus, North Africa, Turkey, Palestine, and other countries near Europe . . . which can easily give temporary asylum to vast numbers of men, women and children now trapped in the ghastly ghettos and execution camps of Poland.

WHAT HAS HELD UP ACTION?

President Roosevelt answered this when he declared, "The heart is in the right place, but it is a question of ways and means."

The Resolution now before Congress provides the answer to the "ways and means" question.

The Jews of Europe will not be saved so long as special machinery for such action is lacking. That is why a Commission to Save the Jewish People of Europe should be created.

EXTERMINATION OR SALVATION?

The Nazis have created *their* Commission for the EXTERMINATION of millions of innocent men, women and children only because they are Jews. We, free Americans, should now create *our* Commission for the SALVATION of these human beings. Let us act with strength, nobility and compassion, in the finest tradition of America.

Monday opened the second session of the 78th American Congress. The Rescue Resolution still pending. A unanimous public opinion should express its wish that this Resolution be passed without delay. Wire or write your Senators and Congressmen. Request their cooperation.

Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe

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country, history, the river god of the blood, and whatever else. Then his sound will articulate his meaning. In the meantime, read this aloud:

> O Golden Fleece she is where she lies tonight
> Trammeled in her sheets like midsummer on a bed,
> Kisses like moths flicker over her bright
> Mouth, and, as she turns her head,
> All space moves over to give her beauty room.

Kenneth Patchen's "Cloth of the Tempest" (Harper and Brothers, $2.75) makes me think of the saying that everything an artist spits is art. It is not true of Mr. Patchen. Unlike Aragon, and Barker (who is English), Patchen is unencumbered by either tradition or technique. The Walt Whitman school from which he vaguely stems is not a tradition in the sense that it provides a working discipline; if the "song-of-myself" poet is to amount to anything he must start from scratch, an almost impossible task. Patchen has written 204 poems about everything from the childhood of God to the Supreme Court of the United States. He takes the position of primal innocence in relation to the world and the cosmos, which exist for him only in so far as he experiences them. He therefore tries to create miracles, as if everything could be beckoned into being by the omniscience of his feelings. But actually his poetic visions turn into mirages, for his images are so all-inclusive that they are open to all meaning and consequently have none—merely "phantomshaded fancyhood." Patchen is not a serious poet. And his fulsome self-indulgence, combined with the continual intrusion of a personality that insists on talking, singing, weeping, fighting, and cooing to itself, is very trying.

From the point of view of the state of contemporary American poetry Patchen is interesting. He represents, in effect, the latest formula—all that was new in poetry twenty-five years ago appropriated and devitalized to meet the demands of the reader who is ready for poetry only when it becomes an imitation of poetry. It is no more than to describe the operation of poetic justice to add that the reader who cares for poetry only as a commodity will leave him after a while, simply because of the small disturbing presence of the genuine talent the poet once had, and has so outrageously abused. Again, it is the abysmal depths to which criticism in the United States has sunk that, more than anything else, is responsible for these poems.

H. P. LAZARUS

Marshal Smuts

JAN SMUTS: A BIOGRAPHY. By F. S. Crafford. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

MUCH of the gilt assiduously applied to Jan Smuts's reputation by his ardent admirers is knocked off by this solid and conscientious biographical study written by an Afrikaans-speaking high-school teacher. Smuts remains nevertheless a complex and remarkable man who would be an exceptional figure in any environment. What he ceases to be, in the light of the facts of his South African career, is a disembodied, idealistic intelligence, bent exclusively on higher things.

Our views of foreign statesmen are often curiously distorted because we do not know the circumstances of their domestic careers which tell us how their idealism is practiced, or not practiced, and with what results. At home Smuts is widely disliked, not always for admirable reasons, but on Mr. Crafford's evidence he can be honorably disliked for his consuming lust for power, his dictatorial ruthlessness with opponents, his strong anti-democratic bias, his anti-labor and anti-native record, and his total dedication to the African imperialism of Cecil Rhodes. Smuts's life has been a problem in reconciling high-minded verbal idealism and practical decency in government, and he has notably failed to solve it. In fact, this is a contradiction which plagues the world today. It is therefore rather characteristic that Smuts the idealist is once more being vaunted to the skies, while the Smuts

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who settles strikes with gun fire and excludes the African natives from his philosophic "holism" is played down or ignored. Mr. Crafford restores a proper balance.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

FILMS

"LOST ANGEL" undertakes one of the few dramatic subjects worth a second thought: the bringing-up of a child. The child, who is, with occasional skids, very poignantly played by Margaret O'Brien, is a foundling whom a set of psychologists adopt, name Alpha, and do their worst with. By the time she is six she is an air-conditioned genius. Then a newspaper reporter flicks a wild card into her deck. For the first time she hears of, and experiences, the possibilities of the irrational, the irregular, the inexplicable, the magical. For the first time she becomes aware of love, and suffers it. Moral: Never trust your own, or anybody's, intelligence about a child; love is all that really matters.

There are grimly misleading and mismanaged things about this picture. Much as I mistrust the run of child-psychologists and progressive educators I don't like to see it implied, even in myth, that they are unaware of the indispensable importance, to a child, of parental love or the best available substitute. They are likely to militate against any fruitful love far more frighteningly through the antiseptic, utilitarian, neo-pietistic quality of their recognition than through ignorance. It is unlikely, too, that a child under their seal would see the city, or meet another child, for the first time, only after running away from them. Rather, the child would be so hermetically "well adjusted," so thoroughly anaesthetized, to both that a naked realization of either would be one of its gravest difficulties. I like hardly better seeing the loose sentimentalities of a narcissistic reporter (James Craig) set up as a working model for the cure-all. And I don't like at all such needless complications as the gunman who is tossed in for *New Yorkerish* laughs, or the general unimaginativeness through which "magic" is shown the child by means of the remarkable things of a city street at night —sandwichmen with neon shirtfronts, etc.—rather than the unremarkable. Almost anything, in such contexts of childhood, can seem miraculous; and through the child's eyes and mind the wonder of a city, which is intrinsic in a well-used camera anyhow, could have been shown many people, instead of the easily glamorous mist, a pipe-smoking dog, some Chinese, a night club, and similar easy outs; and could have become one of the most beautiful sequences I can imagine. But barring a brief examination of a popcorn machine, that chance is forfeited.

Nevertheless, I was often moved, impressed, and excited by this film. It does get down something of the detachment and paradoxical defenselessness-inviolability of a young child, and—for all its softening and cheating—some broad warnings against attitudes one should fear. And toward the end it had, for me, a good deal of the beauty and power of Mann's "Early Sorrow," all the more because I would hardly have expected it on the screen. I can only hope it will be more useful then deceitful; either way, I think it is important.

JAMES AGEE

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MUSIC

AROUND 1890 Bernard Shaw was writing about the "performances of 'Lucia' solely to show off Madame Melba's singing," and the opera companies with "five leading tenors and no stage manager. For want of a stage manager, 'Orfeo' was murdered. For want of a stage manager, the first act of 'Otello' was laid waste. For want of a stage manager, 'Tannhäuser' was made a laughing-stock to every German who went to see it. . . ." The recent Monday night performance of "Rigoletto" at the Metropolitan that I attended could have been given for Lily Pons to use the phrases of *Caro nome* to shoot off her vocal fireworks; and the effect of her china-doll get-up and movements and vocal tones in Verdi's somber and violent work was that of a blockbuster in Berlin. In the cast were two singers, Jan Peerce and Leonard Warren, with superb voices which they abused—Peerce by constriction in production and occasional forcing, Warren by frequent bellowing; and Warren's make-up for the title role was poor, his acting of the lunge-and-clutch variety. There was a conductor, Cesare Sodero, and an excellent one by the evidence of the orchestral portions, or as much as one could hear of them miles away, from row Z in the world's hugest opera house; however, he apparently did not have the authority to impose a musical style on the singing, but had to use his musicianship to create an appearance of musical continuity, style, and sense around the phrase-destroying vocal exhibitionism. There was a stage director, Desire Defrere, who had produced on the stage not dramatic sense but nonsense; but even if he had had the talent to do better he would not have had the authority to deal with Pons's get-up, Warren's lunging and clutching—any more than Dr. Graf once had been able to prevent Lehmann from using a certain negligee in "Der Rosenkavalier" or Tibbett from wrecking the opening scene of "Otello" with his posturing. It was, in sum, a performance which gave one an excellent idea of some of the strengths and weaknesses of the Metropolitan as a producer of opera. If the Metropolitan's performances—often employing good singers and conductors, but undisciplined, insufficiently rehearsed, confused, tasteless—are worth saving with the latest $300,000 which the Metropolitan is asking the public for, it is not because they are something for the world to marvel at but because they are the only ones we have, and moderately good sometimes, and better than nothing.

Listening to singing as it is picked up at a Metropolitan broadcast by the microphones near the singers and amplified for transmission, one gets an impression of nearness and of a power which the voice may not have even in a less huge auditorium than the Metropolitan. Pons's voice does not have it; nor did Albanese's voice, when I heard her at the Metropolitan in "Figaro" two or three seasons ago, have the power it appeared to have in the recent broadcast of "La Traviata." As a matter of fact she seemed to be forcing, which she had not done in "Figaro"; and, possibly as a result, there were other differences: there had been a vibrato, but this time it was terrific; the voice, though small, had been lovely and accurate, but this time it was often acidulous and sometimes badly off pitch. She sang better, however, as she went along; and very beautifully in the last act. The Alfredo was Jan Peerce again; the Germont was Tibbett, with what I suspect was the hoarse remains of a voice built up to impressive volume by the broadcasting microphones and amplification.

A reader who wrote that he agreed with me about the excellence of the Budapest Quartet's performances—but who added sternly that he did not carry admiration to the point of being uncritical—asked me whether I had noted a tendency in the group toward slightly fast tempos. "I think their slightly faster than average pace in the first movement of Beethoven's Opus 135 spoils the reflective spirit that is present in the Léners' reading. And their interpretation of Opus 59 No. 3, which is magnificent in every other respect, misses by its rather flippant, fast pace the spirit of that mysterious section in the second movement, which Sullivan calls 'a memory from some ancient and starless night of the soul.' Certainly the slower pace of the Léners better captures the meaning here." I answered that I had been aware of the Budapest group's tendency toward fast tempos, but had been disturbed by it only in the performance of the first movement of Mozart's G minor Quintet. Then I listened to the group's performance of Beethoven's Opus 130 broadcast by WQXR from the New Friends of Music concert, and was very much disturbed by the effect of what seemed to me the unprecedentedly fast tempo of the first movement, and especially of the development—after which I was uneasy about the tempos of the third movement and the finale. Later I played the recorded performance of several years back, and found that the first movement was in fact slower and more relaxed and better, and that this removed uneasiness about the others.

In that broadcast of the New Friends concert Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 3 was cut off, at 7:00, before the great concluding movement, which would have taken until 7:06. Thus, even when a well-intentioned commercial sponsor like the Book-of-the-Month Club sets out to give the public a complete concert it is defeated by the on-the-hour scheduling of American broadcasting that is a result of its commercial basis. Remember that when you hear about what American commercial broadcasting gives you; ask yourself whether you would be willing to pay the $2.50 a year that the Englishman pays, for what he gets—the broadcast of a concert continued to the concert's end; music without incessant, inescapable talk; opera without gossip-columns and quizzes.

"Speaking of the Metropolitan," a reader writes at this point, "how about the 6-ring circus it has become under commercial sponsorship? Many people have commented on this to me. [Let them comment to the Metropolitan and to the Blue Network—B. H. H.] General Motors has some way to go yet (Kettering *et al.*) before it beats this display." His mention of the Metropolitan is the question what about Mozart; and I too ask what—in this eighth week of the season—about "Figaro" and "Don Giovanni"?

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

VICTOR H. JOHNSON was a first-class mechanic and shop committeeman in the yard described in his article. He has since shipped out as second assistant engineer on a merchant vessel.

MANUEL SEOANE, journalist and former leader of the Aprista Party in the Peruvian parliament, is now living in Chile. He is *The Nation's* regular Latin American correspondent.

KARL KEYERLEBER is on the staff of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*.

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University. His latest book is "Napoleon III."

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Letters to the Editors

T. S. Eliot on Kipling's Anti-Semitism

Dear Sirs: Your issue of October 16 has only recently reached me, containing Lionel Trilling's interesting and, I think, valuable essay on my volume of selections of Kipling's verse. Mr. Trilling permits himself the following observation:

> Mr. Eliot, it is true, would not descend to the snippy, *persecuted* anti-Semitism of ironic good manners which, in The Waster, leads Kipling to write "etc." when the rhyme requires "Jew"; but Mr. Eliot must have been at some trouble to procure the poem for his selection, for it is not included in the Inclusive Edition.

I used, in making my selection, the "Definitive Edition" published by Hodder and Stoughton in London. I am informed that this edition is published in New York by Doubleday, Doran and Company, and that Mr. Trilling can find the poem in question on page 525 of the 1940 impression.

Second, I would observe that in one stanza, at least, the rhyme required is not to *do* but to *done*: and the obvious rhyme for *done* is not *Jew* but *Hun*. Kipling made several opportunities for expressing his dislike of Germans; I am not aware that he cherished any particularly anti-Semitic feelings. In any case, the interest of the poem lies rather in his criticism of the English than in any aversion to Jews, Germans, or Scotsmen that may be imputed to him.

T. S. ELIOT

London, December 15

Mr. Trilling Replies

Dear Sirs: I mistakenly supposed that the Inclusive Edition of 1938 was the latest and most inclusive of the several Inclusive Editions of Kipling's verse; in that edition The Waster does not appear. But the poem is one of the small group of additional poems which appears in the 1940 edition. I therefore owe Mr. Eliot an apology, which I offer sincerely.

But I cannot admit Mr. Eliot's second objection. The gist of The Waster is that the English, because of their public-school code, are always being beaten by certain unscrupulous racial groups. In the first and last stanzas they are beaten by the etc.-Jew because they believe that "There are Things no Fellow can do"; in the second stanza they are beaten by the etc.-Hun because they think that there are "Things that Are Never Done"; and in all three stanzas they are beaten by the Pict. (It is probable, by the way, that for Kipling the Pict is not the Scotsman, as Mr. Eliot implies, but rather the Irishman and perhaps even the low-born Englishman; in A Pict Song the Picts speak of themselves as "the Little Folk . . . Too little to love or to hate," who, if left alone, "can drag down the state.") It is of course true that the poem criticizes the English for being the victims of their own code; but the criticism, because of the nature of the comparisons by which it is made, is so ambiguous as to be almost a kind of praise.

As anti-Semitism goes these days, I suppose Kipling is not—to use Mr. Eliot's phrase—particularly anti-Semitic. I certainly should not think of isolating for discussion what anti-Semitism he has, but only of mentioning, as one aspect of a complex xenophobia, his queasy, resentful feelings about Jews.

LIONEL TRILLING

New York, December 31

Our Clever Contemporary

Dear Sirs: I wonder if you really mean it when you say, on page 684 of the December 11 issue of *The Nation*, ". . . but publications ordinarily as far removed from political concerns as our clever contemporary, the *New Yorker*."

I believe you can find in the *New Yorker's* "Talk of the Town" at least as far back as 1936 some comment or other which indicates a strong, shall we say, editorial bias (?) or economic-political concern. Reflecting on this, I have sometimes wondered whether these homeopathic doses of liberalism to a wide audience, many of whom must be unreconstructed conservatives, does not mark this journal as a significant agent of liberal forces in the land. I do not mean to belittle the more outspoken liberal journals, but it does seem that a journal of this sort, with its wide circulation and its subtle infusion of liberal slants on many current items, must be a useful ally in the struggle. Don't you think so?

AUSTIN B. WOOD

Brooklyn, N. Y., December 9

Negotiated Peace—What Kind?

Dear Sirs: The German war lords have only one avenue of escape to save their hides now and only one chance to start a new war of revenge in the future—a negotiated peace based on a split among the United Nations. This fact is recognized by every student of the international situation. But it is also high time to take cognizance of the nature and the scope of such a peace trap, devised to deceive the Western allies and especially America.

The main features of this negotiated peace are already known. It is no secret that about a year ago a certain emissary of the German war lords visited this country and sounded out influential conservatives in the East concerning this peace plan. Its basis was the promise of the German military to restore nominal independence to Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France, in exchange for which Germany would be given a free hand in Southeastern Europe and would retain at least Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

What escaped attention at that time was the strange fact that exactly the same plan was proposed three years ago by Senator Burton K. Wheeler, then as now a leading isolationist, in his reply to President Roosevelt's speech of December 29, 1940. In his proposal Senator Wheeler advocated the incorporation of Czechoslovakia and Poland in Germany as "autonomous" territories. For Austria he did not even demand autonomy.

Finally, let me point out another strange coincidence. Many war maps published in this country (by the *National Geographic Magazine*, Rand McNally, etc.) consistently show Austria, Czechoslovakia, and often Poland as territories of Germany, in spite of the fact that Czechoslovakia and Poland are full-fledged members of the United Nations, are our allies in this war, and are recognized by the United States government and by all the United Nations. In my mind there is no doubt that the publication of such maps is but a psychological preparation for the proposed German peace plan, which, if realized, would add to the old Germany 50,000,000 people and vast territory with rich natural resources, give it the control of

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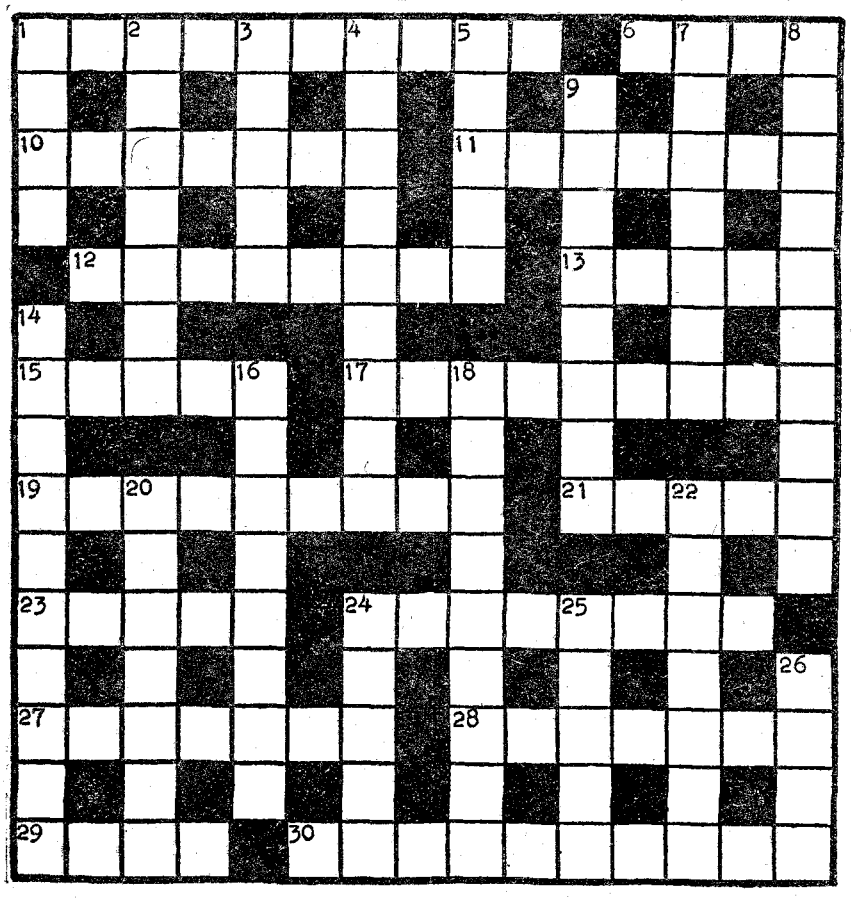
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 47

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 If we had it tomorrow, somebody would probably be against it!
6 An able seaman turns his back on the Royal Navy
10 Laughs . . . "I've laid"
11 Big house with a good cellar no doubt
12 Where the sulphate of iron which makes your writing fluid may come from
13 Egg-shaped, and consumed finally
15 Chuck up the sponge
17 Most of Ring Lardner's stories were written thus (two words, 2 and 7)
19 A wise form of indulgence
21 Nature's cup-and-ball
23 "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast, To soften - - - - -, or bend a knotted oak" (Congreve)
24 Not the fisherman's catch, but a kind of wicker cradle
27 You know it better as a rowlock, perhaps
28 Circulation that interests the marine stores (two words, 3 and 4)
29 What tree would you back to lose?
30 This form of puzzle first became popular in 1924

DOWN

1 A thousand to one it's familiar to a magistrate
2 Needed for a car or a bar
3 Foreign devil
4 I ran on set (anag.)
5 An obliging relative, sometimes
7 Mean, but not too bad
8 An article upset before you and me taking a meal. It's sickening!
9 Nora between her parents makes a pretty picture
14 Our system I alter and make it difficult to understand
16 A laughing-stock
18 Bandages
20 You will recall that a treaty was signed in this Swiss town some years ago
22 Naturally you can get it on a pier by arrangement (two words, 4 and 3)
24 His dozen is more than twelve
25 Disabled ships, and automobiles, may be taken thus (two words, 2 and 3)
26 Tidings from the four points of the compass

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 46

ACROSS:—1 TRAITOR; 5 GREASER; 9 ASPEN; 10 DRAMATIST; 11 MARMOSETS; 12 ORGAN; 13 LEANDER; 15 SNAFFLE; 17 BODEGAS; 19 STEWARD; 21 LIMIT; 23 PHLEBITIS; 25 THRILLERS; 26 EERIE; 27 RESISTS; 28 ARTISAN;

DOWN:—1 TRAMMEL; 2 AMPERSAND; 3 TANGO; 4 RED DEER; 5 GLASSES; 6 ELABORATE; 7 SLING; 8 RETINUE; 14 DIGITALIS; 16 FLAT TIRES; 17 BOLSTER; 18 SAPPERS; 19 SILESIA; 20 DISCERN; 22 MARES; 24 BLEST.

Southeastern Europe, jeopardize the independence of the democracies on the western seaboard of Europe, and enable the German militarists to plunge Europe and the world into another blood bath.

If these three instances pointing to one definite peace plan of a negotiated peace are mere coincidences, they are strange coincidences indeed!

Beware of the peace trap set up by the cunning leaders of the *Wehrmacht* —and watch for new coincidences.

JOSEPH MARTINEK

Chicago, Ill., December 15

Proposals for Litchfield

Dear Sirs: If Willson Whitman in O Little Town (Restricted) in your issue of December 25 is telling the truth, Litchfield, Connecticut, is a degenerate community which any decent American should be ashamed to live in. To carry out anti-Semitism logically in its community life, it should adopt at least the following municipal measures: (1) Banish the Bible from the churches and substitute "Mein Kampf"; (2) Tear down and rip out all crosses in the churches and substitute the swastika; (3) Take down in public buildings all pictures of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln and put up portraits of Adolf Hitler; (4) Prohibit in the hospital use of any and all medical and surgical discoveries or inventions of Jewish scientists; after which chisel over hospital entrance this motto: "All hope abandon ye who enter here"; (5) Prohibit investment of municipal funds in war bonds as long as Secretary Morgenthau's name is signed thereto; (6) Remove from the public library all books by Jewish authors, including Bible aforesaid; (7) Adopt as town slogan and engrave over the door of the town hall this legend: "In order at least to prevent the worst, one begins to take the sod out of the Jew's usurious hands by making the acquisition of soil legally impossible for him" ("Mein Kampf," Chapter XI, page 427).

Great work, *Nation*, keep it up! If there are any more of these Sodoms or Gomorrahs in this country let us know about them.

I am sending copy of this to the Litchfield *Enquirer* and to the rector and ministers of the Episcopal, Congregational, and Methodist churches of Litchfield and to the priest of the Catholic church.

AUGUSTUS LORING RICHARDS

Remsen, N. Y., December 29

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